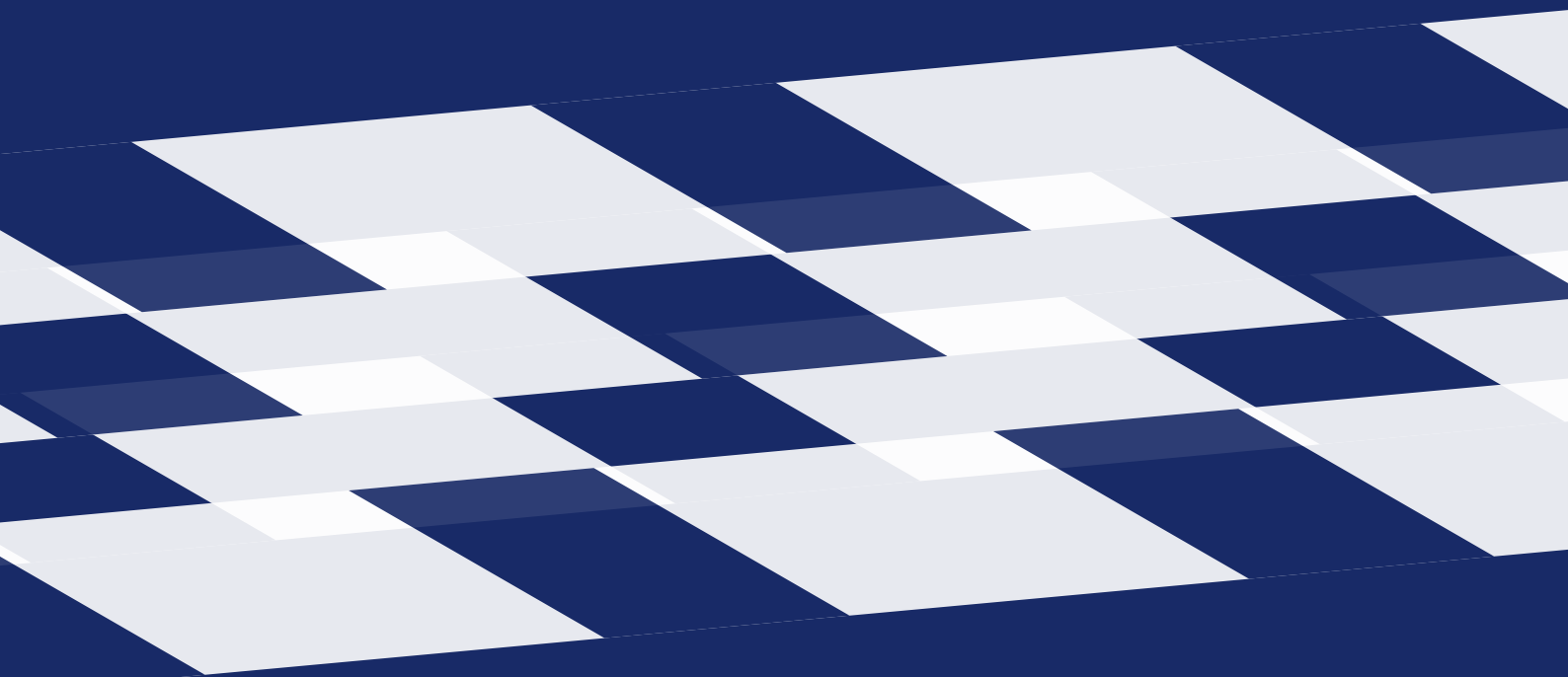




Home Office

# Modern Crime Prevention Strategy

March 2016



# Contents

<b>Home Secretary Foreword</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Chapter 1 - Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Chapter 2 – Opportunity as a Driver of Crime</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Chapter 3 – Character as a Driver of Crime</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Chapter 4 – The Effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System as a Driver of Crime</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Chapter 5 – Profit as a Driver of Crime</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Chapter 6 – Drugs as a Driver of Crime</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Chapter 7 – Alcohol as a Driver of Crime</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Chapter 8 – Using Data and Technology to Prevent Crime</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Chapter 9 – Conclusion</b>	<b>42</b>

# Foreword by the Home Secretary



Crime is down but it is changing. Last year, there were 6.6 million crimes committed in England and Wales, according to the Office for National Statistics' independent Crime Survey. That compares with 19 million in 1995 – a reduction of more than 60%. What we might call 'traditional' crimes like burglary, vehicle theft and street violence have more than halved. But in recent years, more and more victims have found the courage to come forward and report crimes that many previously suffered in silence, such as rape, domestic abuse and the sexual exploitation of children. We are also developing better measures of the scale of online fraud and cyber crime, offences we have long known are significantly under-reported.

As with so many of the challenges we face as a society, the prevention of crime is better than cure. Stopping crime before it happens, and preventing the harm caused to victims, must be preferable to picking up the pieces afterwards.

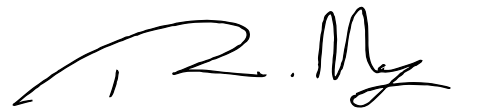
That was the philosophy that drove the expansion in burglar alarms and window locks to cut burglary, better vehicle security features to stop car theft, and, in the last Parliament, reforms to the scrap metal industry to tackle the theft of copper and lead from churches and railways.

But the fact that crime is changing means we all need to update the way we think about crime prevention, building on the successes of the past whilst making the most of new research, techniques and tools to protect the public. We need to recognise that the crime prevention challenge has evolved – we now need to prevent serious harm that happens inside victims' homes, or to stop a cyber-criminal on the other side of the world from targeting thousands of people here with a single keystroke. This Modern Crime Prevention Strategy is intended to do exactly that, setting out what crime prevention means in 2016.

The strategy focuses on what the evidence suggests are the six key drivers of crime – opportunity, character, the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System, profit, drugs and alcohol – and which apply just as much to preventing the new challenges we face as they do to preventing 'traditional' crimes. It sets out proposals under each driver that will make crime harder to commit, and less attractive to criminals, including: banning the sale of so-called 'zombie-killer' knives; giving consumers more information on how secure their smartphone is; and using a new risk assessment tool to identify who is most at risk from fraud and cyber crime, and how to target crime prevention advice to them. The strategy also focuses explicitly on how all of us can use data and new technology as powerful tools for preventing crime.

One of the most important lessons of the past twenty years is that neither the Home Office nor the police can prevent crime acting alone. However, when Government, law enforcement, businesses, academics, voluntary sector organisations and the public all play their part, we can make a real impact – as the reduction in car crime shows. Twenty years ago, car owners in England and Wales had a one in five chance of having their car broken into or stolen per year – now that figure is one in twenty-five. And this is not just down to better policing – although improved tactics and forensics may have played their part. Manufacturers made cars harder to break into and steal. The Home Office published a Car Theft Index which allowed consumers to make informed choices about which car they bought. Investment in drug treatment got more heroin and crack dependent offenders off drugs, and retailers introduced CCTV in car parks. Neighbourhood Watch schemes kept an eye out for suspicious activity, and most of us locked our car doors.

I believe that fraud and cyber-crime, to name but two, are as preventable as car crime and burglary if we understand the problem, work together and use our collective ingenuity to beat the criminals. If the last twenty years has taught us anything, it is that crime is not inevitable. It may be changing but we can still prevent it, and we must.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'T. May', with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

**The Rt Hon Theresa May MP**  
**Home Secretary**

# 1. Introduction

Crime has fallen rapidly over the last twenty years, as the graph on page 5 shows. It has done so in spite of economic shocks, changes in levels of employment, and evolving behaviours around drug and alcohol use, technology and social norms. As it has fallen, crime has changed: while traditional high volume crimes like burglary and street violence have more than halved, previously ‘hidden’ crimes like child sexual abuse, rape and domestic violence have all become more visible, if not more frequent, and there is growing evidence of the scale of online fraud and cyber crime.

There are a variety of reasons for this sustained fall, but the reduction can be attributed in large part to better preventative action to stop crimes from happening in the first place. For example, Government efforts to rank vehicles by their susceptibility to theft allowed the public to make well informed decisions around purchasing better secured cars<sup>1</sup>; the expansion of drug treatment has helped reduce the numbers of heroin and crack cocaine users, who commit over 40% of acquisitive crimes<sup>2</sup>; and better home security has substantially reduced the number of burglaries.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence is clear: where Government, law enforcement, businesses and the public work together on prevention we can deliver significant and sustained cuts in certain crimes. That is good news for victims and communities and it makes clear economic sense too.

Now, as crime changes, this strategy recognises the importance of strong evidence as the basis for a modern approach to crime prevention. It applies the lessons from past successes along with new research into the challenges we now face. It addresses what the evidence suggests

“where Government, law enforcement, businesses and the public work together on prevention we can deliver significant and sustained cuts in certain crimes”

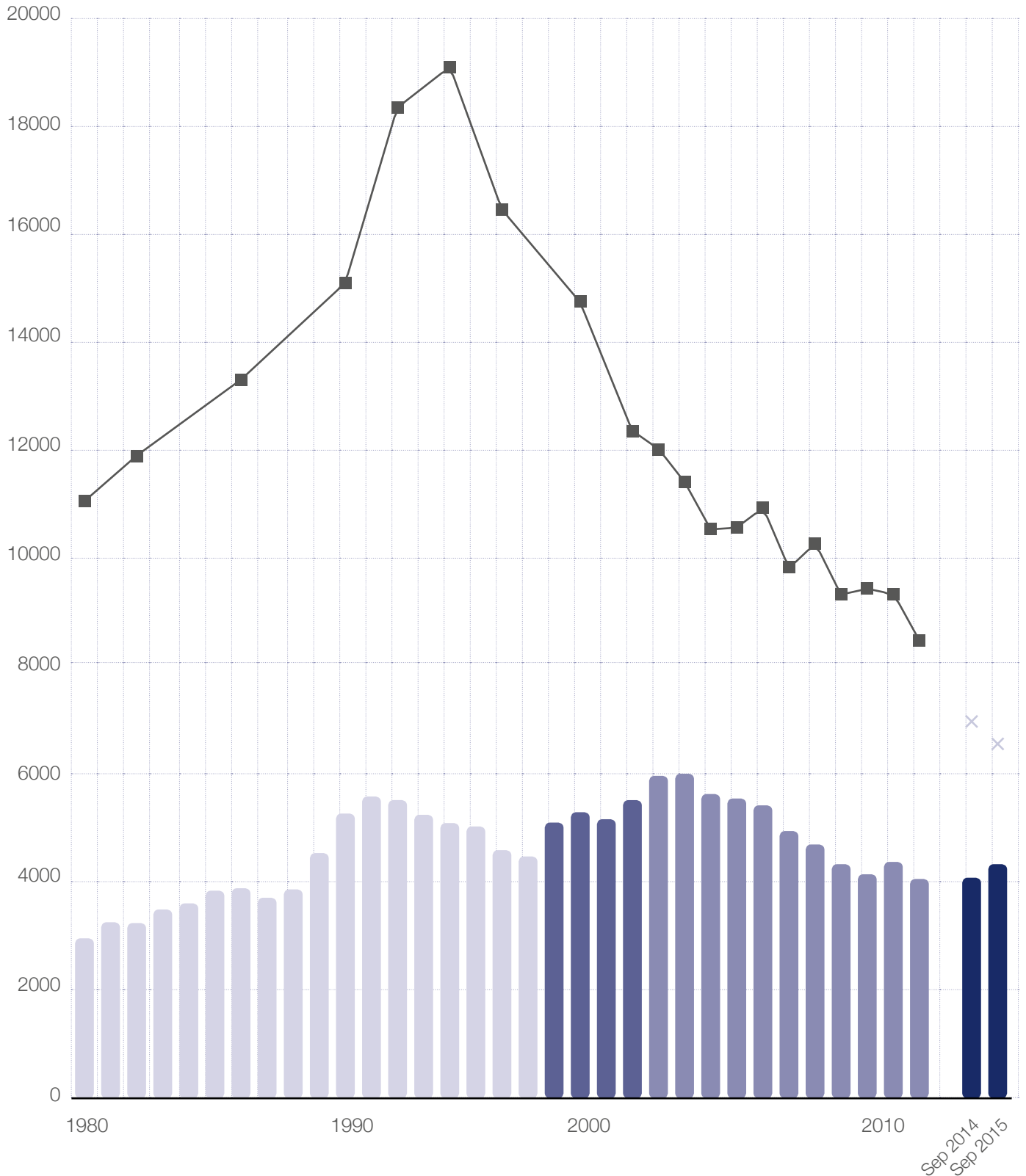
are the six key drivers of crime – opportunity, character, the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System, profit, drugs and alcohol - and a wide variety of crime types. It sets out proposals to make crime harder to commit, less appealing for criminals, and more unlikely in certain communities, situations or in relation to certain products. It brings to bear the latest techniques – from behavioural economics to data analytics – and coordinates a wide variety of partners, many outside Government’s direct control. It aims to articulate, quite simply, what crime prevention means in 2016.

In doing so it does not try to interfere with operational policing or undermine local accountability through Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs). It explicitly recognises, instead, that the Home Office has an invaluable coordinating and convening role to ensure that fewer people consider committing crime

Modern Crime Prevention Strategy

- Police recorded crime - old counting rules
- Police recorded crime - new counting rules
- Police recorded crime - post NCRD
- Police recorded crime - post NCRD years ending September
- CSEW estimate
- × CSEW estimate - years ending September

Number of offences (000s)



in the first place, that those who do find it as difficult as possible, and that all partners, from law enforcement and the wider public sector, to industry, charities and individual members of the public, have the tools they need to prevent it. Because while crime has fallen, there remain

just under 7 million crimes a year, according to the independent Crime Survey for England and Wales, and that is still far too high. Our new approach is based on targeting those **six key drivers of crime**:



**1. Opportunity** – removing or designing out opportunities to offend, offline and online;

**2. Character** – intervening early with those exposed to factors that might lead to a high propensity to commit crime;

**3. Effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System (CJS)** - ensuring that the CJS acts as a powerful deterrent to would-be offenders;

**4. Profit** - making it harder for criminals, particularly organised criminals, to benefit financially from their crimes;

**5. Drugs** - publish a new drug strategy, which builds on the approach published in 2010 to restrict the supply of drugs and tackle the organised crime behind the drugs trade, prevent drug misuse in our communities, help people resist getting involved in drugs, and support people dependent on drugs through treatment and recovery; and

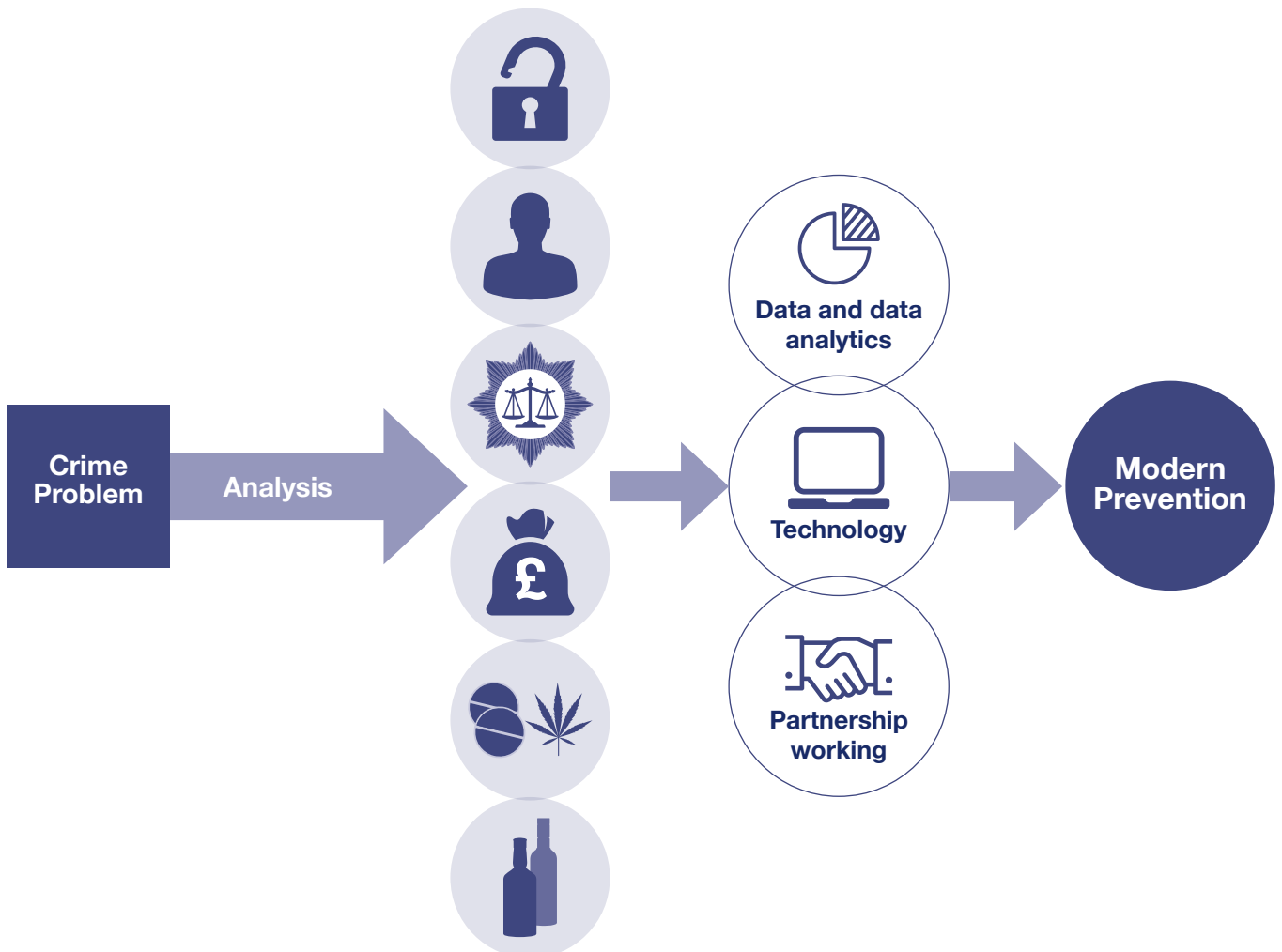
**6. Alcohol** - making the night time economy safe so that people can consume alcohol safely without fear of becoming a victim of alcohol-related crime or disorder, enabling local economies to grow.

Many crime problems will involve more than one driver, so a sophisticated, modern approach will require coordinated action on a number of fronts, as shown by figure 1. The rise in metal theft at the start of this decade, for example, was driven by: a sharp rise in the prices of copper and lead; an extensive but poorly secured metal infrastructure, including everything from lead roofs on churches to power cabling on the railways; a ‘no questions asked’ culture among unscrupulous scrap metal dealers; and legal sanctions that offered little deterrent. Working with law enforcement, local authorities and industry partners, we banned cash payments for scrap metal to make it harder for criminals to profit from their crimes,

introduced a new licensing regime for scrap dealers backed up by tougher legal sanctions, and set up a joint intelligence hub to reduce theft opportunities across the rail and power networks. As a result, metal thefts have fallen by more than 30%.<sup>4</sup>

“a sophisticated, modern approach will require coordinated action on a number of fronts”

Figure 1

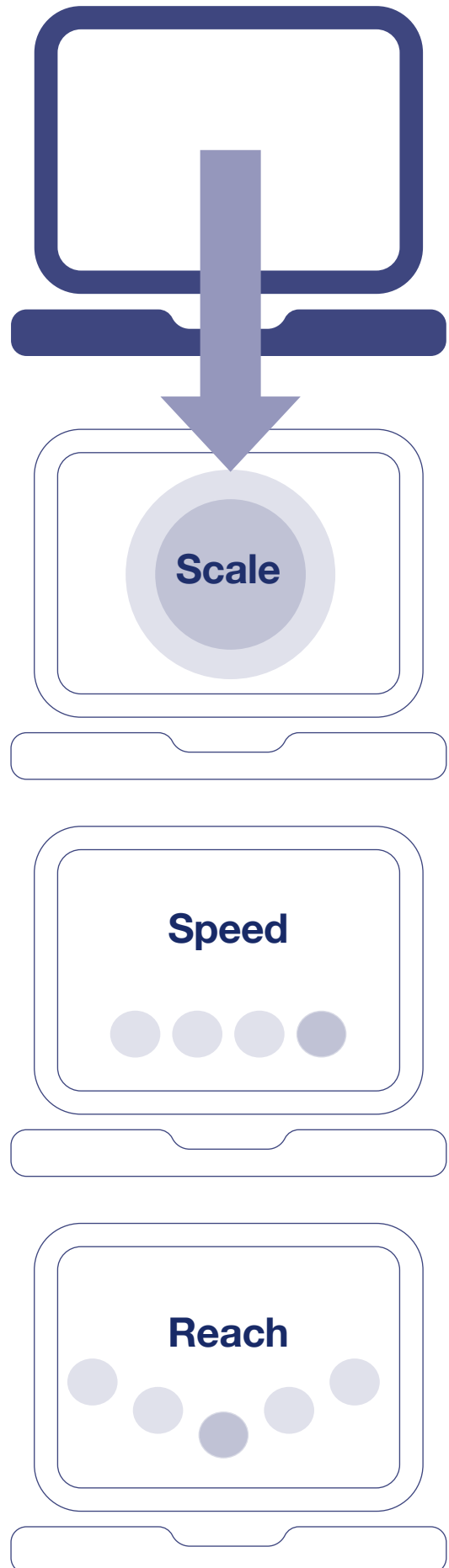




The strategy also focuses explicitly on **data** and **new technology**. In an increasingly connected world, both can be powerful tools for preventing crime but also bring new challenges, particularly related to:

- **Scale** – the internet means that, for online fraud and cyber crime in particular, criminals can now target many thousands of potential victims with a single keystroke;
- **Speed** – the speed with which new technology emerges and is then adopted by large numbers of people is increasing, and single-minded criminals are adept at quickly exploiting any vulnerabilities this creates; and
- **Reach** – the internet allows offenders on the other side of the world, who may never set foot in this country, to target British citizens.

The strategy outlines how Government, law enforcement, local authorities, businesses and the public can join forces to deal with these challenges, and ensure that data and technology work *for us* to prevent crime.



## 2. Opportunity as a Driver of Crime

### What the evidence shows

There is conclusive evidence that crime increases when there are more opportunities to offend, and falls when the number of opportunities is reduced.<sup>5</sup> This does not mean everyone will commit crime if they believe they can get away with it. Some people will never commit certain crimes, regardless of the situation (see Character chapter). But for some people and some crimes, studies show that the degree of opportunity can make a big difference to the number of offences committed.<sup>6</sup>

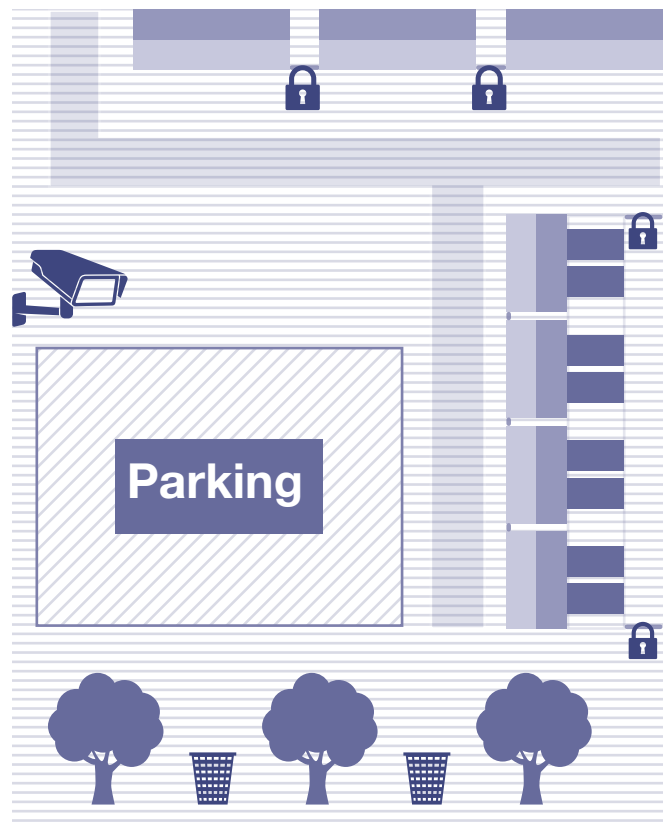
That means crime can be prevented by removing the opportunity to commit it. Research has shown that this can be achieved by making



the surrounding environment less conducive to crime; target hardening; and restricting access to tools and illegal material.<sup>7</sup> There are several examples of how this has worked in practice and which demonstrate how opportunity has played an important role in the fall in overall crime.<sup>8</sup>

### Making the surrounding environment less conducive to crime

Installing CCTV, particularly in car parks, and making it more difficult for criminals to enter or leave an area without being seen (for example, by gating off alleyways behind terraces) have all been shown to reduce crime.<sup>9</sup> Even removing graffiti and picking up litter in an area can have an impact on crime levels if it gives would-be criminals the impression that they are in an area that is cared for by residents.<sup>10</sup>



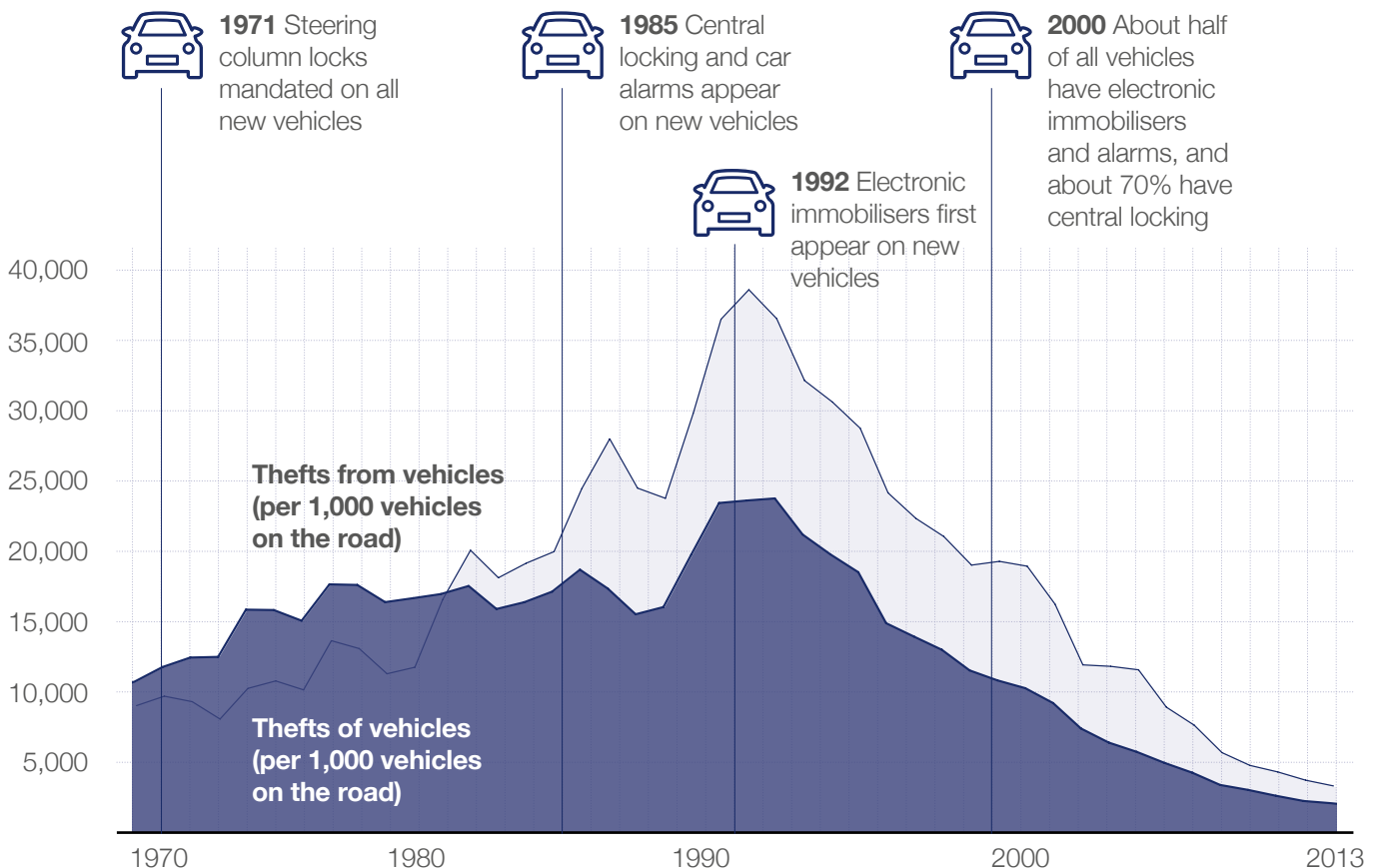


### Target Hardening

Often described in terms of making physical objects harder to break into or steal, for example, the installation of electronic immobilisers and other security features in vehicles played a major role in the 88% fall in vehicle theft since 1995 (see chart)<sup>11</sup>; and increases in the proportion of houses with window and door locks also contributed to the 73% decline in burglary over that period.<sup>12</sup>

“crime can be prevented by removing the opportunity to commit it”

‘Target hardening’ can also include making items more difficult for criminals to use once stolen, as mobile phone networks and manufacturers have shown with both network blocking and new operating systems that prevent stolen smartphones being reactivated.<sup>13</sup> And it includes giving potential victims advice on how to make themselves less vulnerable to specific crimes – for example, by reminding people not to leave their phone out on the table in a busy bar or cafe.



Source: Department for Transport statistics (Table VEH0103); ONS police recorded crime



### Restricting access to tools and illegal material

At a basic level, age restrictions on the sale of, for example, knives or aerosol paints will make it harder for some would-be offenders to commit certain crimes. Online, blocking certain search requests, or taking down illegal websites that sell firearms, indecent images of children or products used to commit cyber attacks can have a similar effect. And both offline and online, reminding people of the rules and explaining the consequences of breaking them can be effective in preventing a range of crimes from tax fraud to viewing indecent imagery of children.<sup>14</sup>

Some academics have argued that simply reducing or removing opportunities – as opposed to, say, tackling underlying causes of crime – will displace that offending to other areas or targets (i.e. the criminals affected will commit just as much crime, but somewhere else). Research has shown this is not the case – a minority of offenders may switch targets but the overall number of crimes falls.<sup>15</sup>

As a result, ‘opportunity’ is an important driver of crime levels. Although proven success so far has largely come from reductions in burglary and

vehicle crime, research suggests that the same principles can be applied to crimes as diverse as sex trafficking<sup>16</sup> and methamphetamine manufacture.<sup>17</sup> This strategy therefore aims to ensure that we continue to find innovative ways to reduce opportunities to commit the full range of crimes, including ‘hidden’ high harm crimes and those crimes enabled by technology.

### The modern crime prevention strategy – removing opportunities to commit crime

We will work with private sector partners and the public to reduce opportunities to commit **crime online**, including by:

- Working with international partners – Governments, the technology industry and civil society – through the **WePROTECT initiative** to remove opportunities for criminals to upload, find and share child sexual abuse material online. For example, Google, through the use of machine learning algorithms, has seen an eight-fold reduction in criminals’ ability to find child sexual abuse material online.<sup>18</sup> In addition, we are working closely with the Internet Watch Foundation, who are sharing unique digital identifiers of child sexual abuse images known to UK law enforcement, with some of the world’s largest technology companies. This is so these images can be removed, and victims and offenders identified. By working in partnership across sectors, the WePROTECT initiative is building the capability and capacity to prevent online child exploitation, and is reducing these crimes.
- Building on public awareness campaigns such as **Cyber Streetwise**. GCHQ claim that up to 80% of cyber crime can be prevented if members of the public and businesses take simple precautions, equivalent to locking our front doors.

Campaigns will focus on three simple steps everyone can take that will prevent crime:

- Using strong passwords made up of three random words (e.g. fur-dis-bat);
  - Installing security software on all devices; and
  - Downloading software updates which contain vital security upgrades to correct bugs or vulnerabilities that hackers and cyber criminals can exploit.
- The Home Office’s innovative new risk assessment tool<sup>19</sup>, developed from primary population research, is helping a range of partners better understand who is most at

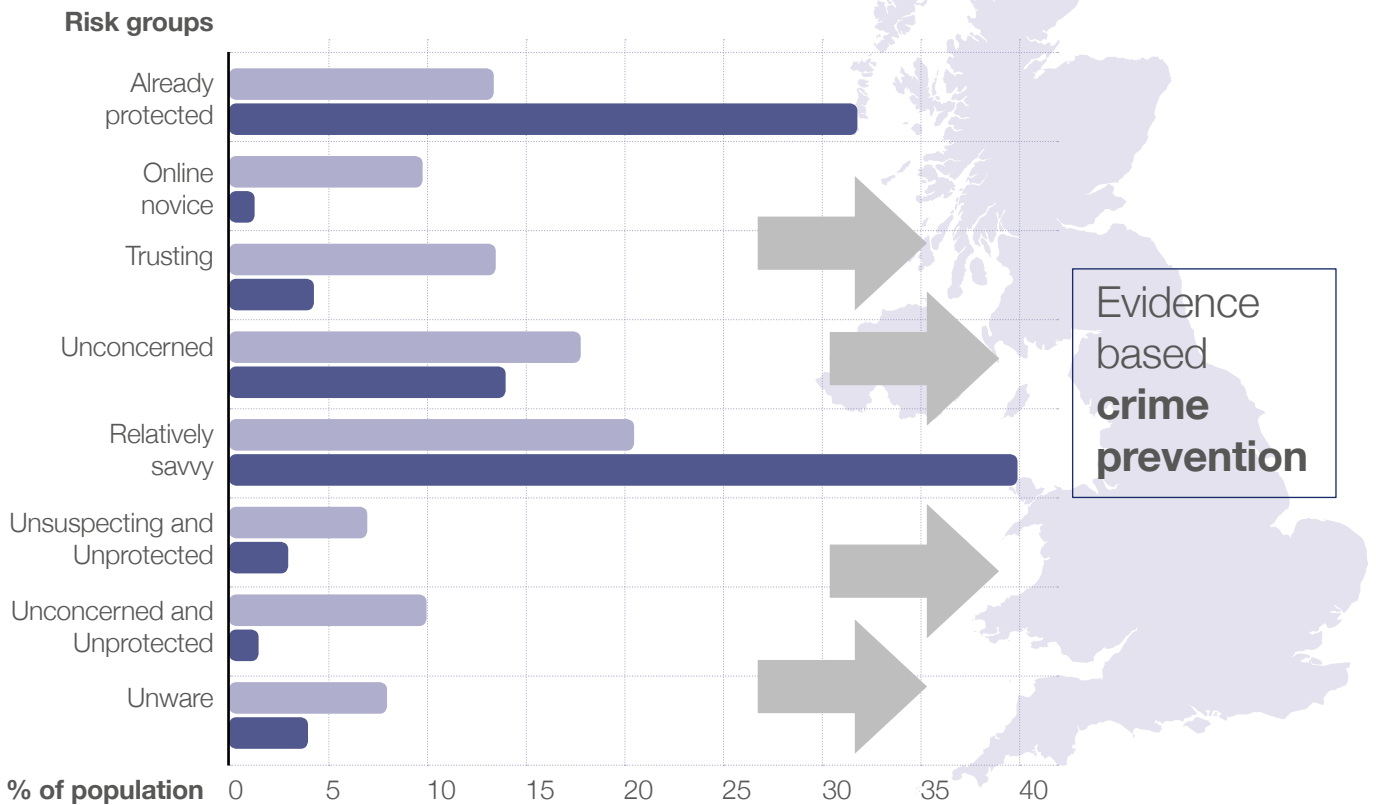
risk from fraud, cyber and financial crime and how they can optimise their current crime prevention response. For example, police forces and Neighbourhood Watch are using this tool to assess their current capability to reach risk groups and develop more targeted crime prevention interventions. For example, in the case study region (shown in the infographic below) the majority of people currently registered to receive Neighbourhood and Home Watch network (in collaboration with Law Enforcement) information are in the least vulnerable groups, demonstrating the importance of evidence-based targeted interventions to reach the most vulnerable.

Figure 3 - Closing the gap to risk groups

Case study region

76% of current effort is to those groups already informed and protected. This data will help to address and prioritise messages and information to the more vulnerable groups.

- Proportional reach of Neighbourhood Watch/Law Enforcement messages
- Proportional risk across region



Source: Home Office Public Interventions Model, sample size of 3,153. Survey of Lancashire residents using “In The Know” messaging system, sample size 2739.

We will remove opportunities for criminals to commit child sexual abuse and violence against women and girls. Evidence shows that – both online and offline – opportunities flourish when crimes are hidden.<sup>20</sup> This is in part because potential victims are less likely to take precautions or know where to turn for help, so our work will include creating safer environments and reducing individuals' vulnerability to exploitation. We will:

- Protect children and young people from the risk of child sexual exploitation, by working with local areas to introduce rigorous **taxi and private hire licensing** regimes. Both the Jay and Casey reports on child sexual exploitation in Rotherham highlighted examples of taxi drivers being directly linked to children that were abused, including instances when children were picked up from schools, children's homes or from family homes and abused, or sexually exploited in exchange for free taxi rides.<sup>21</sup> The Casey Report made clear weak and ineffective arrangements for taxi licensing had left the public at risk. Working through the Local Government Association, we have been holding workshops, forums, and sharing evidence and good practice with local authorities to help them implement regimes that tackle their particular local difficulties. We are also working with the Department for Transport to review their best practice guidance on taxi licensing and to consider what further central support might be appropriate.
- Promote the work of a wide range of agencies including housing providers, banks and employers in **challenging and preventing domestic abuse**, as set out in the Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Strategy 2016.<sup>22</sup> For example, Citizens Advice has trained frontline staff to ask about abuse following a pilot which showed that, in response to careful

questioning, the disclosure rate from clients rose from less than 0.8% to 7%.<sup>23</sup> Citizens Advice has also launched its **'Talk about abuse' campaign** to encourage members of the public to be alert to signs of abuse, and providing information on what to do if they are concerned about a friend or family member. While talking about these issues may be hard, there is good evidence that exposing previously hidden crimes in this way can lead to decreases in actual numbers of offences.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, a recent European Union report concluded that: "currently, the fact that so many incidents are not reported means that many offenders can act with impunity".<sup>25</sup>

- Promote the work we do with health practices using the **Identification and Referral to Improve Safety (IRIS) model**, which supports GPs in responding to disclosures of domestic abuse. The Home Office's refreshed VAWG Strategy sets out how this will be extended in 2016/17.<sup>26</sup>

We will work with **private sector partners to encourage consumers** to take security into account when buying products and services. We want to repeat the success of the Car Theft Index in allowing consumers to take security into account when making choices, including by:

- Publishing a **Buyers' Guide for mobile devices** which sets out the cyber security features to look out for when purchasing or using smartphones and tablets. We will also work with a number of manufacturers to publish information about the various anti-theft security features they provide in a way that lets the public draw their own conclusions about what is on offer, and will publish an update to the joint Home Office and Behavioural Insights Team September 2014 publication 'Reducing Mobile Phone Theft and Improving Security'<sup>27</sup>, in order to provide a picture about the nature of mobile

phone theft following the introduction of the so called 'kill switch' anti-theft security features. This will include information about how mobile phones are stolen, who is most at risk, and the latest findings from the Behavioural Insights Team's Mobile Phone Theft Ratio about specific models targeted by thieves.

- Working with **online financial and retail services to also help the public to better understand key online security principles**, that will reduce their risk of being a victim of crime (particularly fraud), and help them to make an informed choice about where to take their business.

### **Case Study: Mobile Phone Theft**

In March 2014 the Home Office published a 'transparency' table that signposted the public to the various anti-theft security features provided by a number of mobile phone manufacturers. The table was supported by examples of things the public could consider to protect their handsets from opportunist thieves.

Building on that table, in September 2014 the Home Office and the Behavioural Insights Team jointly published the paper Reducing Mobile Phone Theft and Improving Security.<sup>28</sup> The publication provided the public with information about the overall scale of mobile phone theft, and, based on national data, information about how and when mobile phones are stolen, and who is most at risk.

It also included the first ever **Mobile Phone Theft Ratio**, a piece of analysis conducted by the Behavioural Insights Team (based on data from the Metropolitan Police) about the extent to which particular top makes of handsets were deliberately targeted by thieves. This has helped to provide the public with better information about all of the risks associated with theft of mobile phones, to enable them to make more informed choices about which products to buy and how to reduce the risk of victimisation by avoiding the most risky behaviours.

Taken together, those products ensured that the public were well informed about the risks they face, and how best to keep themselves and their mobile phones safe.

Applying opportunity-based approaches to new and previously 'hidden' crimes is vital. We will also continue to use them to drive down crimes that have already fallen markedly, including:

- Working with the motor industry, through the joint **Senior Steering Group on Electronic Vehicle Theft**, to prevent 'keyless' car theft, where criminals are finding ways to bypass sophisticated vehicle security measures. The group will develop police and international best practice, share intelligence on the thieves' methods and tools (including those available online), and identify technical solutions to 'design out' this kind of crime. While recognising that it may not be possible to identify a single common solution across all vehicle manufacturers and also that solutions will need to adapt to stay on top of the threat, some of the solutions that we are exploring with industry include activity to prevent theft by tampering with the vehicle's keys and the on-board computer, exploring the value of overt marking of vehicle parts, improving intelligence sharing between insurers, manufacturers and the police, and encouraging both industry and the police to provide advice on how to protect vehicles from electronic theft.
- Strengthening our response to knife crime, including:
  - Continuing to work with the police and industry to ensure there are effective controls on the sale of knives and other offensive weapons, both online and offline. We are also challenging retailers to take steps to ensure knives are not displayed in a way that means they can be easily accessed or stolen. Whilst we are committed to working with retailers, we will use legislation if needed – for example, we will legislate to ban so called 'zombie-killer knives' which glamorise violence and are targeted at young people.
  - The Home Office is continuing to work with the police, including identifying and spreading best practice. Thirteen police forces (including the Metropolitan Police Service) and the National Policing Lead for knife crime are working closely to develop the operational response, with coordinated action against knives including test purchase operations, targeted searches of habitual knife carriers, weapons sweeps, and use of knife bins.
  - We will continue delivering measures designed to deter young people from carrying knives. The Home Office is working with the Department for Education to deliver prevention messages in schools and is exploring with Crimestoppers and others how existing helplines might be used. We will also encourage and highlight schemes like City Safe Havens to help youngsters concerned about knives.
- Establishing a **Steering Group on Forecourt Crime** to prevent fuel theft and other crime on garage forecourts, including using new technology to prevent driving off without paying for fuel and preventative use of CCTV (e.g. to prevent fuel being dispensed to uninsured drivers or those using false number plates).
- Working with the **National Retail Crime Steering Group** to facilitate effective partnership working between retailers and the police. The group is made up of representatives from the retail industry, the police and the Government, who come together to generate innovative solutions to prevent retail crime, which the British Retail Consortium estimated cost the sector £613 million in 2014/15.<sup>29</sup>



■ **Designing crime out of homes and the built environment.** A new security element was introduced into building regulations in March 2015, which means that every new home built will have doors and windows that are difficult for thieves to break into. We are working with the police to maintain the ‘Secured by Design’ brand, which is an important source of advice on how design of, for example, housing estates or shopping precincts can prevent crime and anti-social behaviour. The Government is also establishing a £140m fund to transform or replace 100 housing estates, many with design flaws like dark alleyways that encourage crime.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, there are some things only the Home Office can do to reduce opportunities to commit crime, such as working with international partners to stop illegal entry into the UK, and to remove foreign national offenders. We have:

- Created a UK-based **Joint Debriefing Team** to make it more difficult to enter the country illegally. It interviews migrants who entered the UK illegally and are detected, to understand the methods and routes they used to enter the country. This information is used to strengthen the UK border, inform preventative action outside the UK or, if it involves criminal facilitators, passed to law enforcement agencies.
- Established the Foreign Criminality Programme to coordinate efforts to **remove foreign national offenders**. The programme focuses on sharing international criminality data, including between immigration, law enforcement, and Criminal Justice Systems in the UK, so that we can maximise the use of existing powers to ensure people who should not be here are removed.

## 3. Character as a Driver of Crime

### What the evidence shows

One of the most important findings in criminology is that a small minority of people commit the majority of crimes.<sup>31</sup> ‘Opportunity’ plays its part - given a tempting target and little chance of being caught, some individuals will commit a crime, and some will do so over and over again. But for most types of crime, most of us simply wouldn’t consider breaking the law to be an option, however clear the opportunity. Why do some people become criminals, while others – often from the same neighbourhood or even the same family – do not? The latest research suggests that what this strategy terms ‘character’ is an important part of the explanation.

Evidence increasingly suggests that certain character traits in individuals are related to their propensity to commit crime. Studies following people from a young age have demonstrated that those characteristics – particularly a person’s willingness to break social norms,<sup>32</sup> and their levels of empathy<sup>33</sup> and self-control<sup>34</sup> – are strong predictors of whether they offend or not. In fact, researchers at Cambridge University have recently shown that these traits are around three times better at predicting whether a young person will offend than factors associated with their immediate environment, such as hanging around in crime hot-spots, or in the company of delinquent peers.<sup>35</sup>

This is a growing area of research, but we are learning more about the development of these character traits. There are, for example, some aspects of an individual’s upbringing which can be very damaging, such as witnessing or being a victim of domestic abuse, or experiencing social deprivation or neglect.<sup>36</sup>



However, the evidence also makes it clear there is nothing inevitable about criminality.<sup>37</sup> The kind of positive character traits which will protect young people from involvement in crime can be learned<sup>38</sup> – someone with low levels of self-control can be helped to improve their decision-making, making them less likely to commit crime – with parents and teachers playing a hugely important role.<sup>39</sup>

The early years are the point where positive character traits are formed making it a key time for intervention.<sup>40</sup> But an important and encouraging part of the growing evidence on ‘character’ is that, even in adults, the brain can still learn new patterns of behaviour – it is like a muscle that responds to exercise. This means even those with a high propensity to offend can still improve traits such as empathy and self-control throughout their lives.<sup>41</sup>

In looking at ‘character’ as a driver, this strategy therefore focuses on measures which will prevent crime by building positive character traits and increasing young people’s abilities to make good decisions and achieve positive life outcomes.<sup>42</sup> But it will also set out what we can do to help those who are at more immediate risk of becoming involved in crime, and those who have become habitual offenders.

## The modern crime prevention strategy – building character and resilience

We will work with a range of partners to build positive characteristics and resilience generally in children and young people and equip them to challenge discrimination and intolerance, including by:

- **Teaching school pupils to recognise and challenge unhealthy and exploitative relationships**, to prevent them from being abused or from engaging in abuse themselves. The Department for Education and the Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education Association are introducing a professional development programme to give teachers the skills, confidence and knowledge to teach core concepts of consent and healthy relationships. The Home Office will support this work with the recently launched new Teenage Relationship Abuse campaign, **‘Disrespect NoBody’**, targeted at a core audience of 12-18 year olds, with the aim of preventing them from becoming perpetrators and victims of abusive relationships. The campaign encourages young people to re-think their views of violence, abuse, controlling behaviour and what consent means within relationships, thereby helping to change attitudes which can underpin violence against women and girls.
- The Department for Education invested £5 million in character education in 2015/16, supporting 14 projects developing character in young people, from competitive sport, volunteering and youth social action to forging links with businesses and providing work experience, and providing £1m to the **Education Endowment Foundation** to build the evidence and expand research into the most effective ways that character can be

developed. In 2016/17, they will be working to develop an online character portal where the best schools can share resources, evidence and discussion about what works to develop character in young people. The Department will also support the **Careers and Enterprise Company** to launch a new business mentoring programme to give young people the best chance to reach their potential.

- Government is also extending funding to the **National Citizen Service (NCS)** by more than a billion pounds so that 60% of 16 and 17 year olds will be able to take part. Motivation to achieve goals, the abilities to deal positively with set backs and to make good decisions can all be developed by young people through programmes such as the NCS. Good citizenship involves qualities such as empathy and respect for others. Research shows that violence in society is likely to reduce if citizens feel they are a part of their society.<sup>43</sup> The NCS helps to both develop positive character traits, and to build a sense of community belonging.
- **Developing positive interactions between the police and young people**, for example through the Volunteer Police Cadets. Police Cadet schemes are typically based in community settings rather than schools, with a specific emphasis on deprived areas. As a result, they tend to reflect the diversity of those communities, and help to build positive links between those communities and the police. Cadets undertake a number of roles assisting the community, including crime prevention, and receive training which helps to build their confidence.

We will continue to help build character and resilience in young people who are at **significant risk** of or from more serious offending by:

- **Working with the Department for Communities and Local Government to deliver the expanded Troubled Families Programme**, bringing in more young people who are not yet involved in criminality but who are identified as at risk. Following the success of the original Troubled Families Programme, which turned around the lives of over 116,000 families<sup>44</sup>, the Programme has now been expanded, and aims to support up to a further 400,000 families with multiple, high-cost problems by 2020. The Programme now reaches out to families with a broader range of problems including crime, anti-social behaviour, drugs and alcohol misuse, gangs and youth violence, domestic violence, child sexual abuse, serious and organised crime, and radicalisation, as well as families where there is a perceived risk of becoming involved in criminality.

The Troubled Families Programme encourages a new way of working: it incentivises local public services to come together, working with and understanding the needs of the *whole family* instead of constantly reacting to their individual problems – and to co-ordinate support accordingly. Local authorities can claim results payments for families in their local programme when they can demonstrate that either significant and sustained progress has been made against every problem a family is facing, or that continuous employment has been achieved. ‘Significant and sustained progress’ measures are agreed amongst local partners, and many partnerships are being extremely ambitious on crime, for example looking to reduce the reoffending rates of both adults and young people by at least a third, and anti-social behaviour by 60%.

- **Supporting interventions in Accident & Emergency to prevent youth violence.** Home Office funding is being used by the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime to extend and develop the youth intervention programmes run by the voluntary sector organisation, Redthread, in the four major trauma centres in London. This is aimed at young victims of violence, largely knife and gun violence related to gang activity. A youth worker based in the A&E will talk to the young person when they are in the hospital at the “teachable moment” about what brought them there and whether they can be given support to prevent similar incidents happening again. Redthread offer support to all assault victims aged from 13 to 20 to prevent them from joining a gang, or to help established gang members reassess their life choices. We are following this project very closely and will support extensions of the scheme where possible.

### **Case study: using the ‘teachable moment’**

US studies suggest that intervening with young victims of violence – who are often also perpetrators – in hospitals can both prevent escalation and further violence.<sup>45</sup> Such interventions rely on using a critical point in the young person’s life that is both ‘teachable’ – where the victim’s hospitalisation makes them acutely aware of the dangers of their current lifestyle, and therefore more receptive to change – and ‘reachable’ – in that hospital provides an opportunity to engage high-risk individuals who might otherwise be difficult to reach.

- Working with voluntary sector organisations such as **Crimestoppers' Fearless service** to ensure young people and their parents have a way of reporting violence and knife crime anonymously, and can get expert advice when they need it. We will also work with the Department for Education on how best to raise awareness in school age children about the risks of carrying knives, and the role schools can play to build resilience in children and young people so they do not give in to peer pressure to carry knives.
- The Ministry of Justice is conducting a **review of the youth justice system** led by Charlie Taylor, a former head teacher of a school for children with severe behavioural difficulties and Chief Executive of the National College for Teaching and Leadership. In recent years the level of proven youth offending has fallen substantially, as has the number of children entering the youth justice system for the first time and the number ending up in custody.<sup>46</sup> But those that remain are often some of the most challenging and vulnerable young people in society, and too many go on to reoffend. The review will publish its final report in the summer. An interim report was published in February setting out proposals for putting education at the heart of our response to youth offending, including the creation of small, local secure schools for those remanded or sentenced to custody. The review is also considering the opportunities to create a more devolved youth justice system which would enable greater local freedom in tailoring the response to youth offending and integrating this with the wider range of services which young offenders often require. The terms of reference for the review have recently been extended to include courts and sentencing.

We will also work to build positive character traits and resilience in older offenders:

- The Government has published Key Principles to support local agencies working together to reduce reoffending by persistent and problematic criminals – an approach known as **Integrated Offender Management**. Local areas are free to choose their own interventions, but there is a strong focus on supporting habitual offenders to achieve long-term desistance from crime, or face swift consequences. Often, agencies will work with individuals to build key character traits like resilience – for example, by helping them to avoid socialising with former associates who are known offenders.
- The Ministry of Justice supports prisoners in maintaining **family ties**, in order to prevent reoffending upon release, with evidence showing that maintaining good relationships helps to prevent people from returning to crime.<sup>47</sup> As positive character traits can be developed throughout life,<sup>48</sup> it is therefore important to help prisoners maintain relationships that can shape these traits. The Ministry is undertaking a series of discussions with key organisations and groups to look into the issue of offenders' family ties. These discussions will explore examples of best practice from around the prison estate, measuring the success of family-related interventions and listening to the views of third sector organisations over what more could be done to improve available support.

# 4. The Effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System as a Driver of Crime

## What the evidence shows

Evidence suggests the Criminal Justice System - the police, the courts, prisons and probation services – can prevent crime through four principal mechanisms – **deterrence, legitimacy, incapacitation** and **rehabilitation**:

- **Deterrence** – The theory that people refrain from committing criminal acts as a result of the fear of sanctions or punishment, and so any Criminal Justice System action which increases the costs or reduces the benefits should act as a deterrent. One way of increasing the costs is by increasing the perceived likelihood of being caught and punished. There is good evidence that specific police tactics can increase the perceived likelihood of being caught – for example, patrolling known crime ‘hotspots’ has been shown to reduce crime, particularly when accompanied by local problem-solving;<sup>49 50</sup>
- **Legitimacy** – Theories of procedural justice suggest that by engaging positively with people and treating them fairly, those working in the Criminal Justice System can increase the system’s legitimacy in the eyes of the public and foster greater compliance with the law. A systematic review of the evidence on police legitimacy showed a greater impact on public satisfaction and confidence than on crime, but also indicated that restorative justice conferences involving mediation between victims and offenders can reduce the volume of re-offending;<sup>51</sup>



- **Incapacitation** – Studies have shown that preventing offenders from committing further offences by imprisoning them can reduce crime overall, particularly if the most prolific offenders are targeted and incapacitated in this way.<sup>52</sup> However, the evidence also suggests that the incapacitation effect diminishes as imprisonment rates increase, because a smaller proportion of those imprisoned will be prolific;<sup>53</sup>
- **Rehabilitation** - There is evidence that some rehabilitation programmes delivered through the Criminal Justice System can be effective in reducing crime and reoffending, particularly where they aim to address the causes of offending – such as treatment for drug addiction and programmes improving offenders’ cognitive skills, or anger-management programmes.<sup>54</sup>

The evidence suggests increasing the perceived likelihood of being caught, and to some extent the speed with which the sanction is then delivered, has a deterrent effect<sup>55</sup> - which is why the Criminal Justice Board, chaired by the Justice Secretary and attended by the Home

Secretary and Attorney General amongst others, monitors indicators of swift and certain justice on a monthly basis, and commissions work to improve performance where there is cause for concern.

## The modern crime prevention strategy - making the Criminal Justice System more effective at preventing crime

While the Government is implementing a wide-ranging program of justice reforms, this strategy focuses specifically on measures that will make the Criminal Justice System a more effective deterrent to would-be offenders.

We will encourage more effective hotspot policing, including through greater sharing of A&E data:

- Local agencies which share relevant data can pinpoint crime hotspots more accurately. In addition to the work being sponsored in London we are supporting the **Information Sharing to Tackle Violence** initiative, which facilitates the collection of data on knife injuries and ensures this is shared with police and community safety partnerships across the country. The scheme has brought together the police, medical staff and local authorities to collect information on the times and locations of the assaults and the weapons used. This is used to drive preventative action, including: adjusting the routes of patrols; moving extra officers to the city centre at certain times; targeting problematic licensed premises; repositioning CCTV cameras; pedestrianising certain streets; and introducing plastic glasses in pubs and bars. The scheme is built on the **Cardiff Violence Prevention Programme** which resulted in a significant reduction in rates of hospital admissions for violence, and we are supporting this work elsewhere.<sup>56</sup>

- Building on this, **the Department of Health has published an information sharing standard for A&E departments** which sets out the data they are required to collect and share with the police and other local partners. In 2014, 61% of Type 1 (consultant-led) A&E Departments were sharing data.<sup>57</sup> We will continue to work with the Department of Health, NHS England and the police to ensure all Major Trauma Centres share this data. Violence Reduction Nurses have a key role to play in collection and sharing of this data, and we will keep working with the Department of Health to encourage the take-up and continuation of these critical roles in tackling this issue.

Strathclyde Police, in 2005, developed a similar approach using their “Violence Reduction Unit” to target violent behaviour in and around Glasgow; this included the collection of anonymous assault data by A&E departments and data sharing with police and other agencies to allocate resources and reduce the risk of future assaults.

We intend to work with those already in the system to prevent further offending. Prisons must become places of reform, where offenders can change their lives and turn away from crime. Currently, prison fails to rehabilitate or make sure criminals are prevented from offending again. Nearly half of adult prisoners are reconvicted within one year of release – and almost 60% of those serving under 12 months do so.<sup>58</sup>

The Ministry of Justice is investing £1.3billion to reform and modernise the prison estate to make it more efficient, safer and focused on supporting prisoner rehabilitation. Prisons should be places of hard work, rigorous education and high ambition, with incentives for prisoners to learn and for prison staff to prioritise education and work. To do this, prison governors need freedom to innovate and find better ways of rehabilitating offenders.

The Ministry of Justice will:

- **Establish Reform Prisons to give prison governors the freedom to find better ways of rehabilitating offenders.** These changes will begin by creating six Reform Prisons initially, with further change to follow. Reform prisons will have one resource budget and full discretion over how they spend it, and prison governors will be able to opt out of national contracts and services and choose their own suppliers - such as education providers - who they can hold to account for the quality of the service provided. They will also have more freedom to tailor their own regimes - for example, deciding on additional visits to support family ties, or the amount of time spent 'out of cell' doing purposeful activity.
- Hold prison governors to account for their prison's performance. **Publishing prison league tables** will make it transparent how each prison is performing and will allow for meaningful comparisons to be made between different prisons. League tables will incentivise prisons to improve their performance and provide a renewed focus on rehabilitation.
- With the changes in the delivery of probation services and the creation of **Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC)** contracts there is a focus to incentivise providers to reduce reoffending through a Payment by Results (PbR) mechanism. This new payment incentive has been introduced in order to ensure CRCs focus on reforming offenders, while giving them flexibility to do what works and freedom from bureaucracy. CRCs are paid a fixed fee for service to make sure that the sentence requirements and licence conditions for all offenders are delivered. Further payments will be available on a PbR basis, and the CRCs will be rewarded with this payment primarily for

achieving complete desistance from crime, and with CRCs only paid in full for real reductions in reoffending.

- The Ministry of Justice is interested in the **problem-solving court** approach and any recommendations on how they might be delivered in England and Wales. One component of problem-solving courts in other jurisdictions includes diversion from the mainstream Criminal Justice System; where the offender opts in to the problem-solving court, often as an alternative to a prison sentence, and agrees to undergo appropriate treatment and behaviour change interventions. Progress is overseen by the judiciary who hear reviews at court and support the offender through rehabilitation. There are many models of problem-solving courts internationally, some dealing with specific types of offence or offending behaviour, for example, drug courts, mental health courts and domestic violence courts.

The Justice Secretary and Lord Chief Justice have set up a joint working group to consider how the problem-solving courts model could be applied across England and Wales and what has driven success both nationally and internationally. This will include consideration of new powers required to deliver "swift and certain" short custodial punishments for breach of community sentences, particularly for drug and alcohol treatment.

- The Ministry of Justice is exploring how **satellite tracking tags** can be used to support work to rehabilitate offenders and deter them from committing further offences. New pilots on satellite tracking will begin later this year. They will examine how offenders respond to wearing a GPS tag at different points in the criminal justice process and how decision makers make use of the technology.



We will build law enforcement capacity to tackle new and emerging crimes, including through:

- The police taking a national approach to developing **Digital Investigation and Intelligence (DII) capabilities**. This will enable officers to make better use of information obtained from digital sources, whether that is open source intelligence (e.g. a suspect's social media), or through digital forensics (the investigation of a seized laptop or mobile phone). To deter would-be offenders and secure convictions that protect the public, the Criminal Justice System needs the capability to use these sources that evolves as the technology does.
- The Home Office, through money provided by the **Police Transformation Fund** is supporting critical police led work to set up a comprehensive and joined up programme of **digital transformation across policing**. This funding will enable the Digital Investigation and Intelligence programme to further develop police capability in relation to the skills and technology required to effectively police a digital age and protect victims of digital crime.
- The provision of £1.5m in 2015/16 which funds a **new network of regional coordinators and analysts** in Regional Organised Crime Units, who support forces to **implement the National Policing Child Sexual Exploitation Action Plan** as well as developing a significantly enhanced regional intelligence picture. This improved intelligence will help police forces to identify child sexual exploitation hotspots, as well as abuse which is happening across police force boundaries.
- Continuing the recruitment of **special constables with niche expertise**. Police forces and the National Crime Agency are recruiting special constables with specialist skills, particularly ICT skills and experience of working with the private sector.

We will give the police and courts the tools they need to keep the public safe, including:

- **Implementing Sexual Harm Prevention Orders and Sexual Risk Orders**. Sexual Harm Prevention Orders are civil orders that can be applied to anyone convicted or cautioned for a sexual or violent offence, including where offences are committed overseas. Sexual Risk Orders are civil orders that can be applied to any individual who poses a risk of sexual harm in the UK or abroad, even if they have never been convicted. Both came into effect in 2015, and can be used by the police or National Crime Agency to place restrictions on individuals to prevent them offending, such as monitoring their internet use or preventing travel abroad - with breach a criminal offence punishable by up to 5 years' imprisonment.
- **Maximising the benefits of the Child Abuse Image Database**. All police forces across the UK and the National Crime Agency are now connected to the Child Abuse Image Database (CAID). CAID is a national system which allows the police to prioritise analysis of a suspect's devices, identify images of abuse more quickly and share them to identify victims.
- **Ensuring powers to obtain communications and data are fit for the digital age by introducing the draft Investigatory Powers Bill**. The Bill will make a new provision for the retention of internet connection records in order for law enforcement to identify the internet services a person has connected to, for example how they are communicating online and whether they are accessing or making available illegal material, such as child abuse imagery. This will restore capabilities that have been lost as a result of changes in the way people communicate.

We will speed up and streamline the criminal justice process, including by:

■ **Digitising the Criminal Justice System**

– to minimise delays, we need one set of case data which is managed digitally, which decision-makers across the system can access easily, and which guarantees security and evidential integrity. As more crimes – whether committed online or offline – feature a digital evidence trail, the system needs to be able to use that evidence quickly and effectively to secure prosecutions. We will therefore work across Government to deliver:

- A **Common Platform** enabling criminal cases to be managed and progressed more efficiently and effectively;
- Criminal Justice Efficiency work which ensures that **every criminal court can operate completely digitally**, ensuring cases can progress as quickly as possible;
- **Digital First**, which will provide clear solutions to overcome the challenges of managing digital evidence. It will do this by developing a compatible and consistent approach to the capture, storage and sharing of digital evidence across the Criminal Justice System;
- **Track My Crime** - a secure online system which allows victims to track the progress of their case via the police.uk website.

■ **Modernising and improving victim testimony experience**

– to catch and punish the perpetrators of the most serious crimes, we need victims to have the courage to come forward, safe in the knowledge they will be taken seriously. Making their experience of giving testimony easier and less traumatic, especially in cases of child sexual abuse or sexual offences, will increase the likelihood of their giving evidence, and ensure their evidence is of better quality.<sup>59</sup> Every court region now has a video link and remote site which allows vulnerable and intimidated witnesses, particularly children, to give evidence without going into court. Once the remote sites have been assessed, the Ministry of Justice will decide whether and how to increase their number across the country.

## 5. Profit as a Driver of Crime

### What the evidence shows

Evidence shows that most acquisitive crime is financially motivated.<sup>60</sup> However, considering ‘profit’ – making money and accumulating wealth over and above immediate need – as a driver of crime is intended to describe the way money drives the behaviour of more organised criminals in particular.

Research on the way profit drives criminal activity in the UK is relatively limited, but the estimated market size or revenue earned by organised criminals per year from drugs supply is £3.7 billion, organised fraud £8.9 billion and organised immigration crime £240 million, all causing substantial harm.<sup>61</sup>

We believe profit is the primary motivation for most organised crime. The recently published National Crime Agency Intelligence Assessment on the pathways into organised crime showed that many serious and organised crime offenders are motivated by profit.<sup>62</sup> In October 2015 the Government published the National Risk Assessment of Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing.<sup>63</sup> It showed that the proceeds of crime are laundered through a variety of mechanisms. Criminals who realise the proceeds of their crimes in the form of cash (notably the sale of illicit commodities such as drugs and counterfeit tobacco) will often use cash-rich businesses to conceal the origin of their funds and move them into the financial system. They also use money service businesses and cash collection networks to transfer their proceeds overseas. Crimes such as serious frauds and overseas corruption (the proceeds of which are realised in non-cash form), are often held in bank accounts,



real estate and other investments, and the associated money laundering is often facilitated, wittingly or unwittingly, by ‘professional enablers’ in the legal, accountancy and financial sectors.<sup>64</sup>

Profit can also drive spikes in certain types of high-volume theft – some of which will be organised – when the conditions are right for new criminal markets to emerge, as happened with stolen metal in the early 2010s. This illustrates what some studies show – that profit – driven offenders are *adaptive*, switching their focus in response to enforcement action.<sup>65</sup> Recent action to reduce metal theft (through legislation) and smartphone theft (through industry action to minimise phone resale values overseas) shows that it is possible to target criminal markets, reduce available profits and thus change criminals’ behaviour.<sup>66</sup> The latest Office for National Statistics figures show that police recorded metal theft has fallen by more than 50% since 2012/13, and recorded ‘theft from the person’ has fallen by 27% since September 2013.

Our improving picture of the scale of fraud and cyber crime (recent preliminary estimates published by ONS suggest there could be

as many as 5.1m fraud offences per year in this country, and 2.5m cyber crimes) makes profit an increasingly important driver of crime, particularly as intelligence increasingly suggests cyber criminals are marketing their services to organised crime groups.

The Serious Crime Act 2015 has strengthened our ability to recover the proceeds of crime by closing loopholes used by criminals to get around confiscation orders. Among other measures it ensures criminal assets can be frozen earlier in an investigation, helps prevent defendants hiding money with spouses and other associates, and it substantially increases the time in prison faced by those criminals who default on the payment of higher value confiscation orders – so as to deter offenders from choosing to serve time in custody rather than paying up. Since 2010, more assets have been recovered from criminals than ever before.

Between April 2010 and March 2015 **£945 million** has been **taken off criminals**, and **£116 million** has been **returned to victims**.

Many hundreds of millions more have been frozen to put it beyond the reach of criminals. But this strategy sets out what more we will do to prevent criminals from profiting from their crimes, and thus to remove the incentive to offend.

## **The modern crime prevention strategy – preventing crime by targeting criminal profits**

We will target profit as a driver of organised crime by preventing crimes that currently generate large amounts of money for criminals; making it harder for criminals to realise any illegal profits they make; and, in the case of

modern slavery, incentivising businesses to stamp out any room for organised crime in their supply chains. Working with a wide range of partners is vital – the financial sector and businesses have capabilities and information that is critical to preventing organised crime – and a strong interest in protecting the public.

We will work with partners to prevent profitable crimes, by:

- Using the recently launched **Joint Fraud Taskforce** to strengthen the collective response of the Government, the financial sector and law enforcement in protecting the public from becoming victims of fraud and fraud scams, maximising opportunities to stop fraudsters from operating, and catching and prosecuting those who commit fraud. The Taskforce's work focuses on five key strands:
  - **Understanding the Threat:** agreeing the key threats, vulnerabilities and drivers of fraud which in turn will inform the activities of the Taskforce.
  - **The Collective Response:** fast-tracking intelligence sharing between banks and law enforcement, and a more coordinated law enforcement approach, targeting the most serious organised crime groups, including the introduction of a new top 10 most wanted fraudsters to focus effort and resources.
  - **Victims and Vulnerability:** considering more efficient identification of victims and potential victims, and reducing repeat victimisation. It will also address the barriers preventing the refund of funds to victims.
  - **Behaviour Change:** this work will aim to innovate and test new ways of changing customer behaviour, as well as ensuring that any campaign messaging is targeted to the key audience.

- **Tackling System Vulnerabilities:** designing out vulnerabilities which fraudsters exploit in processes and systems across all sectors.
- Ensuring that we have the right capabilities in the UK and overseas to break **the business models related to organised immigration crimes**, and prevent people from becoming involved in it. This will build on the new **Organised Immigration Crime Taskforce**, funded until 2020, which brings together officers from the National Crime Agency, Border Force, Immigration Enforcement, and the Crown Prosecution Service – to pursue and disrupt organised crime groups in source and transit locations including Africa, the EU border, and the UK.
- Investing **£1.9 billion over five years to protect Britain from cyber attack** and develop our sovereign capabilities in cyberspace as part of the second National Cyber Security Strategy which we will publish later in 2016. This funding will be used to support work to keep the UK protected from cyber security attacks. This will include the establishment of a national cyber security centre which will work with industry, academia and international partners to keep the UK protected against cyber attacks, as well as exploring how Government, internet service providers and individuals can work together to protect users from known bad addresses and prevent malware infections. This will ensure the UK remains a safe place to do business and fundamentally alter the economics of cyber crime against UK citizens and businesses.<sup>67</sup>

We will target the methods organised criminals use to process their criminal profits by:

- Implementing a new **Anti-Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Action Plan**, which will represent the biggest change to our anti-money laundering regime

for over a decade. The Action Plan will set out how the Government will address the risks identified in the 2015 National Risk Assessment of Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing by:

- building a new public-private partnership which will share information, identify and disrupt money laundering;
  - enhancing the law enforcement response through new operational capabilities and strengthened legal powers;
  - improving the effectiveness of the supervisory regime; and
  - increasing our international reach to tackle threats at the earliest opportunity.
- Working with the professional sector to **deter solicitors and accountants from becoming involved in money laundering**. This builds on previous activity aimed at the legal sector, which drove a 20% increase in Suspicious Activity Reports according to data from the National Crime Agency. It aims to increase understanding of the consequences of becoming involved in money laundering, and of the role professions can play in preventing it.
  - In addition, the UK is holding a **global anti-corruption summit** in 2016 to generate commitments and resources to end impunity, strengthen the ability of international institutions to tackle corruption, and develop ways for citizens to challenge corruption.

We will work with businesses to prevent modern slavery in their global supply chains:

- The Modern Slavery Act 2015 requires organisations carrying on a business or part of a business in the UK and with an annual turnover of £36m or more to publish a **slavery and human trafficking statement** every year. This will describe the steps

they have taken to ensure that slavery and human trafficking are not taking place in any of their supply chains and their own business – and they must disclose if they have taken no such steps. The UK is the first country in the world to adopt this kind of transparency legislation in relation to modern slavery. Leading businesses recognise that customers expect them to take an ethical stance on slavery, and we believe the new legislation will encourage a ‘race to the top’ as businesses compete to ensure their profits don’t also benefit criminals.

## 6. Drugs as a Driver of Crime

### What the evidence shows

Drugs drive crime in several ways: the economic motivation to obtain money to fund drug use; the psychopharmacological effects of psychoactive drugs; and the actions of organised crime groups supplying the market.<sup>68</sup> And, in addition, drug possession and supply are in themselves offences.

There has been a long-term downward trend in drug use among adults and young people over the last decade, and a long-term upward trend in numbers recovering from dependence.<sup>69</sup> However, drug misuse has stabilised over the last five years and emerging threats such as new psychoactive substances pose fresh challenges.

Around 1 in 12 (8.6%) adults aged 16 to 59 have taken an illicit drug in the last year,<sup>70</sup> and there were estimated to be just under 300,000 heroin and/or crack cocaine users in 2011/12.<sup>71</sup>

The **social and economic cost of drug use and supply to society is estimated to be around £10.7bn per year, of which £6bn is attributed to drug-related crime.**<sup>72</sup>

There is a particularly strong association between drugs and acquisitive crime. An estimated 45% of acquisitive offences (excluding fraud) are committed by regular heroin/crack cocaine users, which equates to more than 2 million Crime Survey offences.<sup>73</sup> Recent Home Office research found that heroin/crack use could account for at least half of the rise in acquisitive crime in England and Wales to 1995 and



between one-quarter and one-third of the fall to 2012, as the cohort who started using in the late 1980s and early 1990s aged, received treatment, ceased using drugs or died.<sup>74</sup> However, heroin and crack cocaine do not necessarily cause people to *start* committing other types of crime, as many users will have offended prior to onset of use – and it is by no means the case that all users fund their use through acquisitive crime. Heroin and crack use though, can accelerate and extend criminal careers, creating a cohort of very prolific offenders.

Further reducing the number of heroin and crack users is likely to have the largest impact on crime levels in volume terms. Evidence on drug-related crime prevention focuses on three areas: treatment; diversion; and enforcement:

- **Treatment** – getting users into treatment is key, as being in treatment itself reduces their levels of offending<sup>75</sup> – and the Criminal Justice System offers a number of routes in. Full recovery from dependence should be the aim of treatment and evidence suggests that recovery is more likely to be achieved and sustained if users are given support to improve their ‘recovery capital’ – particularly around housing and meaningful employment.<sup>76</sup> For a small cohort of

entrenched, long-term opiate users who have not achieved recovery through optimised oral substitution treatment, there is evidence that heroin assisted treatment (supervised injectable heroin) reduces crime.<sup>77</sup>

- **Prevention** – stopping people from starting drug use in the first place, or stopping use escalating, is clearly preferable to treatment in preventing crime. There is little evidence that drug education focused solely on information giving or media campaigns alone can change behaviour though, and they should only be used as part of a wider strategy.<sup>78</sup> There is, however, growing evidence that good quality Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and school-based interventions designed to improve behaviour generally (e.g. by building confidence, resilience and effective decision-making skills) can have a preventative impact on drug use.<sup>79</sup> For those in the early stages of drug use, brief interventions (including motivational interviewing techniques) at early contact points with health, criminal justice and social care services can help prevent escalation.<sup>80</sup>
- **Enforcement** – there is some evidence that drug-law enforcement action can have some localised impact though benefits can be short-lived and disappear once an intervention ceases.<sup>81</sup> Geographically targeted problem-oriented policing interventions aimed at drug hotspots and which involve partnerships between the police and wider community groups are likely to be more effective at reducing drug-related problems (such as street-level dealing, crime and other forms of anti-social behaviour) than conventional law enforcement-only approaches.<sup>82</sup> Enforcement may also be effective at suppressing emerging markets of dependence-inducing drugs before they become well established.<sup>83</sup>

“Drugs are a complex and evolving issue and getting our approach right is crucial to tackling the crime and wider health and social harms and costs to society drugs cause”

Our approach to tackling drugs set out in the 2010 Drug Strategy fundamentally changed the delivery landscape and put our focus on recovery. But there are always new threats and harms emerging, so we must continue to act and build on this approach. We will therefore publish a new drug strategy in 2016, which will set out how we will prevent and tackle drug misuse. This will build on our current balanced approach – to reduce demand, restrict supply and build recovery – and tackle drugs as a key driver of crime.



# 7. Alcohol as a Driver of Crime

## What the evidence shows

Over the last decade, in around half of all violent incidents the victim believed the offender(s) to be under the influence of alcohol at the time of the offence,<sup>84</sup> a proportion that increases in incidents between strangers, in the evening and night, at weekends, and in public places. This is also the case in 17% of incidents of partner abuse.<sup>85</sup>

Long-term trends in alcohol consumption have tended to follow those for violent crime: an increase in the second half of the 20th century, before more recent periods of decline.<sup>86</sup> Alcohol misuse places a strain on our emergency services and a significant cost burden on society; latest estimates show that the cost of alcohol-related crime is £11bn.<sup>87</sup>

The relationship between alcohol and violence is complex, and is characterised by the interaction of a range of factors,<sup>88</sup> including:

- **The psycho-pharmacological effects of alcohol**, including increased risk taking, impulsive behaviour, heightened emotionality and other effects of intoxication;
- **The individual characteristics of perpetrators**, such as age, gender and predisposition towards aggression;
- **Situational factors** related to the environment in which alcohol is consumed; and
- **Societal attitudes and values** towards drunkenness and what is acceptable behaviour while under the influence of alcohol.



Evidence on the links between alcohol and non-violent or acquisitive crime is less well developed; though alcohol can also be a specific factor in some offences, for example 36% of penalty notices for disorder in 2014/15 were issued for being drunk and disorderly.<sup>89</sup> Alcohol also has a wider impact on communities; 18% of adults perceive people being drunk or rowdy as a very or fairly big problem in their local area.<sup>90</sup>

Given the association between alcohol use and violence, reducing consumption is likely to be beneficial in crime prevention. The actions outlined in the chapter are based on evidence that reducing the availability of alcohol, providing targeted treatment and brief advice, and prevention approaches that build life skills and resilience can be effective in reducing alcohol harm.<sup>91</sup> In addition, good partnership working has been found to underpin the successful implementation of interventions, and sharing data on acute harms across health, criminal justice and local authority platforms can also inform crime prevention activity.

## Preventing alcohol-related crime and disorder

The sale of alcohol is important for the UK's economy and pubs are a significant part of community life. The trends in alcohol-related crime and disorder have been moving in the right direction consistently over the past decade. However, the harms associated with alcohol remain too high. People should be able to go into the evening and night time economy to socialise, eat or enjoy the entertainment their town centre has to offer without the fear of becoming a victim of crime. The lives of the majority of residents of town centres, suburbs and estates should not be affected by the drunk and rowdy behaviour of a minority.

Preventing alcohol-related crime and disorder requires concerted action by all with a stake in the successful operation of the evening and night time economy. Successful crime prevention should be the basis on which public and private sector partners can make their town centres thrive, supporting businesses and providing job opportunities. Achieving this aim will require a strong and sustained commitment to partnership working by local authorities, the police, health partners and businesses. Government can, and will, create the right framework to allow partnership working to thrive through its management of the system within which decisions about the evening and night time economy are made and by equipping local authorities and the police with the right powers to take action when partnership working breaks down and problems escalate. But, Whitehall cannot, in isolation, develop the right solutions to address problems, or create the right opportunities for local economies. Government, and local communities, will expect local partnerships to work together effectively to prevent alcohol-related crime and disorder.

It would also be wrong to allocate responsibility solely to those organisations involved in the overall management of the evening and night time economy. Personal responsibility is just as important. Individuals must shoulder their share of responsibility when it comes to decisions they take about drinking to excess, committing acts of violence or disorder, and not challenging the unacceptable behaviour of others. Equally, those selling alcohol need to consider the societal impacts, including the potential risk of crime and disorder, of selling alcohol to those who have drunk too much.

Preventing alcohol-related crime and disorder requires a three-pronged approach. All those with a stake in the evening and night time economy have a responsibility to securing the effectiveness of this approach:

- **Improving local intelligence** so that decisions taken about the sale of alcohol and the management of the evening and night time economy are based on reliable data and the latest evidence;
- Establishing **effective local partnerships** where all those involved in the operation and management of the evening and night time economy work together, so that people can enjoy a safe night out without fear of becoming a victim of alcohol-related crime or disorder, whilst also enabling local economies to grow;
- **Equipping the police and local authorities with the right powers** so they can prevent problems and take swift and decisive action after they have occurred.

“Preventing alcohol-related crime and disorder requires concerted action by all with a stake in the successful operation of the evening and night time economy”

## Improving local intelligence

Decisions about individual licensing applications, enforcement activity and the use of resources to police the night time economy hinge on the strength of the evidence that is available. To improve the amount and quality of local intelligence, the Government will:

- Publish **information about where alcohol-related crime and disorder is occurring** on police.uk.
- Encourage the police to make the **best use of data and to share information** with local authorities and businesses where appropriate. Licensed premises should also continue to make information available to the police and other emergency services about individuals who have caused problems in the night time economy. There are examples across England and Wales of business-led action against individuals who have caused problems in the evening and night time economy and we would encourage other areas to take the same approach.

- Expect more local **NHS trusts to share information about alcohol-related violence** to support licensing decisions taken by local authorities and the police, adopting the success of the Cardiff Model.<sup>92</sup>
- Encourage **licensing authorities to share information** about individuals and premises that have had their licences revoked to enable other licensing authorities to put in place relevant conditions or refuse licence applications from individuals and businesses known to have operated poorly run premises.
- Work with partner organisations including the Local Government Association and Public Health England to ensure that **local authorities have the right analytical tools and capability** to make effective use of the information made available to them

## Effective local partnerships

Strong, sustained and effective partnership working is at the heart of successful management of the evening and night time economy. The police, local authority and health partners must work alongside local businesses to devise local solutions and strategies for preventing alcohol-related crime and disorder. Government has a role facilitating partnership working, but the day-to-day management of the evening and night time economy can only be done locally. To develop effective partnership working locally, the Government will:

- Launch a new round of Local Alcohol Action Areas. The new programme will strengthen the capacity and capability of local areas to build effective partnerships, address alcohol-related harms by focusing on a number of core challenges, and provide access to experts and advice. Areas will be able to bid for inclusion in the programme, which will launch in autumn 2016.

- Work with industry partners to support businesses locally to continue to take action to prevent crime, for example by:
  - Providing support to local authorities, the police and health partners to create **safe spaces** to reduce the burden of drunkenness on the police and A&E Departments as well as enable people concerned for their safety to take action to prevent themselves from becoming a victim of crime;
  - Removing potential flash points from premises by **designing out crime**;
  - Supporting local authorities to **diversify the night time economy** where the consumption of alcohol is secondary to other activities in the evening and night time economy, such as entertainment and food;
  - Building on the work in Exeter, Camden, Cornwall and Nottingham by developing the **night time economy workforce** to prevent problems inside and outside premises, recognising the roles of door staff, street pastors, club hosts and taxi marshals can play in preventing incidents from escalating;
  - **Supporting staff locally to take action**, for example by introducing 'Challenge 25' as standard, encouraging the responsible sale, marketing and promotion of alcohol in the off- and on-trades and improving knowledge of the law on the sale of alcohol to drunks;
  - **Improving the use of guidance** on the way in which alcohol is sold in both the off-trade and the on-trades;
  - Continuing to support **partnership-based initiatives** such as Pubwatch, Best Bar None, Community Alcohol

Partnerships and Purple Flag, as well as the Proof of Age Standards Scheme and Drinkaware. We will expect industry to extend these schemes where necessary, not just by introducing them to new areas, but increasing involvement by other people involved in the evening and night time economy, particularly door staff, street pastors, and those working in the off-trade, and making them more public facing.

- Influence **positive behaviour change** among individual consumers, for example through the provision of brief interventions outside a traditional healthcare setting for both offenders and victims.
- Pursue a life-course approach to preventing the onset of alcohol misuse, and its escalation, through supporting a universal approach combined with more targeted action for the most vulnerable. This includes placing a greater emphasis on building resilience and confidence among our young people, in line with the latest international evidence, to tackle the range of risks they face by empowering them to make informed and positive choices for their health and wellbeing.

## Equipping local authorities and the police with the right powers

Improved local data and partnership working will not always stop alcohol-related crime and disorder. Where crime and disorder does occur, the police and local authorities should act swiftly and decisively to deal with individuals and premises causing problems. The Government will ensure that both have the right powers and that the licensing framework within which the police and local authorities operate supports them in taking the right action. Action should be

proportionate, but offenders, be they individuals or licensees, should be left in no doubt of the need to change their behaviour. To achieve this, the Government will:

- Improve the **late night levy** by making it more flexible for local areas, fairer to business and more transparent. At the same time, the Government will create a greater role for Police and Crime Commissioners, by giving them a right to request that local authorities consult on introducing a levy to contribute towards the cost of policing the evening and night time economy.
- Put **cumulative impact policies** (CIPs) on a statutory footing, to strengthen the ability of authorities to control the availability of alcohol and reduce alcohol-related crime and disorder, as well as providing industry with greater clarity about how they can be used.
- Where partnership working has broken down and problems are concentrated in a particular geographical area, consult on the most appropriate powers for local authorities and the police to deal with problems effectively. To achieve this, the Government will consult on a **group review intervention power** (GRIP) to enable licensing authorities to consider the licensing conditions of a group of premises to address problems in a specific location. This will enhance licensing authorities' ability to manage the night time economy in their area, for example by requiring better security at premises, or measures to reduce the risk of alcohol-related violence. Where there are serious concerns about individual premises, the licensing authority will continue to use the existing review process; the group review intervention power would not itself result in the closure of premises.

- Future-proof changes to the police workforce by giving **civilian staff powers of entry** to enter and inspect licensed premises. The Policing and Crime Bill gives civilian staff, under the command of a chief constable, the right to enter premises to inspect whether licensed activity is taking place in accordance with licence conditions.

The Government is also committed to introducing sobriety as a court imposed community order to reduce alcohol-related reoffending. The Ministry of Justice will use the available evidence to establish the best model for achieving this, including the evaluation of the successful pilot in London, led by the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime.<sup>93</sup> The outcomes from pilot activity will feed into a broader Electronic Monitoring Strategy which will support the rollout of GPS technology across the country before the end of the Parliament.

## 8. Using Data and Technology to Prevent Crime

Data and technology are not drivers of crime in themselves. Rather, they are tools that are critical to successfully preventing crime, and have valuable applications across all six drivers.

As the preceding chapters have highlighted, sharing the right security information with consumers, and working with manufacturers to design crime risks out of products and services, are key to reducing opportunities. For ‘character’, pooling and analysing data across different local agencies can help professionals identify and help people who are vulnerable or at risk. Better analysis of digital images and geolocation tagging could help make the Criminal Justice System more effective at catching (and therefore deterring) criminals. Finding and correcting weak spots in online banking systems will make fraud less profitable to organised criminals. Even for drugs and alcohol, drivers that are closely associated with ‘traditional’ crimes, we can make more information on alcohol crime hotspots available to the public online, or use freight targeting technology to stop drug shipments at the border.

But compared even to ten years ago, the pace and scale of technological change is staggering. We are increasingly living our lives online, and for many of us, that means not just using the internet to communicate or shop or pay bills, but the creation of an online persona which is indivisible from our ‘real world’ selves. This has far-reaching implications for our identity, for the ‘value’ associated with it and how we protect it. Other developments – in robotics, bioscience and materials technology to name a few – are also transforming the world around us. The pace of this change provides a new challenge –



whether that is for the police when responding to criminals’ use of new hardware like drones, or for banks and other companies when fending off the latest cyber-attack, or for young people and their parents when working out how to stay safe online.

To make best use of data and technology, we need a culture change in which everyone recognises that, in a more connected society, we all have a part to play in preventing crime. As members of the public, we have a responsibility to follow some basic rules to protect ourselves – choosing the more secure products, installing security software on all our devices, downloading software updates (particularly on our smartphones) and using strong passwords. Businesses need to take responsibility for ensuring their products and services don’t create opportunities for criminals, as well as protecting their own networks and making it as easy as possible for customers to avoid unnecessary risks. Law enforcement agencies need to share data – with each other, and with other partners in both the public and private sector – and embrace technology as a tool for

preventing crime, rather than a specialist subject best left to the experts. And Government has an important role too, not least in stripping away barriers to the effective use of **data and data analytics**, and helping others **exploit new and existing technology to prevent crime**.

## Data and data analytics

We – and importantly, our electronic devices – are generating new data at an incredible rate. According to IBM, 90% of all the data in the world was created in the last two years.<sup>94</sup> Some of this could be used to solve or prevent crime – for example, smartphones constantly transmit location information and connect to nearby Wi-Fi hubs, creating a digital ‘footprint’ that can place a criminal at the scene of a crime. However, without a way of making sense of all this information, it would swamp us. ‘Data analytics’ is the science of identifying patterns in large datasets, and many companies have become very good at using it to tailor the services they provide to the public. We can now use the same techniques to prevent crime – data analytics can:

- Help police forces deploy officers to prevent crime in known hotspots (often called **‘predictive policing’**);
- Use information shared by local agencies on, for example, arrests, convictions, hospital admissions, and calls on children’s services **to identify individuals who are vulnerable to abuse or exploitation**;
- Spot **suspicious patterns of activity** that can provide new leads for investigators, such as large payments to multiple bank accounts registered at the same address;
- Show which **products, services, systems or people are vulnerable to particular types of crime** – for example that young women are disproportionately likely to have their smartphone stolen. This means system

flaws can be addressed, or crime prevention advice (e.g. on mobile phone security measures) can be targeted more effectively.

Many police forces are already trialling forms of ‘predictive policing’, largely to forecast where there is a high risk of ‘traditional’ crimes like burglary happening, and plan officers’ patrol patterns accordingly. Data analytics can be used to identify vulnerable people, and to ensure potential victims are identified quickly and consistently.<sup>95</sup>

But we need to do much more to realise the potential of data and data analytics to help prevent crime. With the right safeguards around personal information, we need to help police forces and their partners handle and use data as easily as companies or members of the public, from using the ‘cloud’ to storing and using video clips submitted with online crime reports. That is why the Home Office is:

- Implementing the **National Law Enforcement Data Programme**, which is bringing together all the data from the Police National Computer, Police National Database and Automatic Number-Plate Recognition systems onto a single platform. This means that officers attending a call for service will be able to call on on specific, targeted holistic information to decide the best course of action, protect victims and spot potential links to other crimes;
- Working with the **National Police Chiefs’ Council** to ensure that new capabilities which law enforcement needs to prevent crime and protect the public, and which depend critically on data and technology, are delivered on a regional or national basis. This will include giving technology suppliers a single point of contact in these areas, ensuring we can make the most of their expertise.

- Supporting the **Police ICT Company** as they work with police forces to drive out greater procurement efficiencies and ensure consistency of approach when implementing technology solutions at local level. This should make systems more interoperable, both between forces, and with other local partners.
- Developing a data analytics capability which brings together data on immigration and asylum, visa applications and organised crime. The focus of this work to date has been on generating operational intelligence to tackle immigration crime and protect our borders. But in 2016, we intend to use criminality data to map criminal networks, and identify trends, patterns and relationships for further investigation.

## Exploiting existing technology and horizon scanning to prevent crime

The Home Office is working actively with law enforcement agencies and industry partners to make more effective use of existing technology to prevent crime, including:

- **Digital Investigation and Intelligence** – digital sources play an increasingly important part in any police investigation, whether through open source intelligence (e.g. social media) or digital forensics (e.g. investigating a seized laptop or mobile phone). To deter would-be offenders and secure convictions that protect the public, the Criminal Justice System needs a capability to use these sources that evolves as the technology does. The Home Office, through money provided by the Police Transformation Fund, is supporting critical police-led work to set up a comprehensive and joined up programme of digital transformation across policing. This funding will enable the Digital Investigation and Intelligence programme to further develop police capability in relation to the skills and technology required to effectively police a digital age and protect victims of digital crime;
- **Forensics** – forensic science, especially that linked to crime scene investigation and analysis of evidence plays a significant part in preventing crime – it has helped reduce burglary, violent crimes and fraud by helping us understand how particular types of crime were committed, and increases the likelihood of a criminal being caught.<sup>96</sup> The Government's vision for the evolution of forensic science is set out in the Home Office's new Forensic Strategy.
- **Mobile technology** – The Home Office and partners are developing a next generation mobile communication system for the three emergency services (police, fire and rescue, and ambulance) and some other public safety organisations, called the Emergency Services Network. It will provide reliable voice and broadband data services that mean critical crime prevention information can be delivered to the handheld device of an officer at the front line;
- **Digital Video** – body-worn cameras can be used by law enforcement officers to record their interactions with the public or gather video evidence at crime scenes. They can be a powerful tool in helping the police protect the public, and trials indicate officers believe it helps them to gather evidence. In particular, it was felt valuable for incidents of domestic abuse, where footage could be used to show a level of detail and/or emotion not possible in written statements, an impact which may be seen later in the criminal justice process (for example at court).<sup>97</sup>



## Horizon scanning

The Home Office's Centre for Applied Science and Technology (CAST) has an important role in working with industry and academia to identify emerging technologies. Technology development is not always predictable – innovations that look transformational at the design stage can then fail to take off.

Here are five examples of emerging technologies we are considering:

- **3D and 4D printing** – 3D printing is a way of making an object by layering plastic or metal into a solid shape. 4D printing will involve the printing of objects that change shape over time. The most obvious threat from new printing technology is the ability it gives individuals to manufacture weapons at home, although our tests show that printed plastic guns are currently unreliable and pose a greater threat to the firer than the intended victim. This may not be the case for printed metal guns, although metal printers are very expensive at the moment and less easy to use than plastic printers. Other crime threats include the potential to print shapes with voids inside them, for smuggling drugs and other illicit items.
- **Drones** – a 'drone' is a flying (or crawling or swimming) robot which is controlled by a human pilot. Recent developments in robotics and battery life mean it is now possible to fly a drone on automatic pilot, with a payload, for 30 minutes or more. There are benefits provided by drone use in public services, such as collecting data, or the potential to deliver services in a new way. There are also huge potential benefits of this technology in preventing crime (e.g. in detecting the trafficking of illicit goods and people), and a number of police trials are in their early stages. There are also some significant crime risks – drones have already been used to deliver drugs and other contraband into UK prisons, and they could be used for a range of malicious purposes from stalking to disrupting flights. CAST is helping the police and prison service to understand how to use technology to detect and prevent drone misuse.
- **Bitcoin and blockchain technology** – bitcoin is one of a number of virtual currencies (i.e. which can be traded digitally but are not legal tender in any country) and is encrypted, so users are anonymous. The integrity of the currency is guaranteed by the blockchain, a permanent and transparent (to users) record of all transactions. Virtual currencies are the preferred method of online payment for illicit commodities including firearms and drugs, particularly on 'dark web' websites – but blockchain technology also has significant potential to prevent fraud. Having consulted experts, the Government believes there is a strong case for bringing virtual currency exchanges under anti-money laundering regulation, and has given £10 million for virtual currencies and blockchain research to the Alan Turing Institute. We have also asked the British Standards Institute to develop voluntary industry standards for consumer protection.
- **Greater interconnectivity** - we are currently moving towards a completely connected environment and infrastructure, and by 2020 there will be approximately 20 billion networked devices. This will have huge crime prevention benefits – the more devices are networked, the larger an individual's 'digital footprint', making it easier to place suspects at the scene of a crime. And it could provide opportunities to stop crimes in action – for example, by bringing a getaway vehicle to a controlled stop. But there will also be new risks – most of us are unaware how much of our personal data

is online and potentially available to cyber criminals now, so a world in which all of our devices are talking to each other all the time will involve the creation of huge amounts of data that hackers and criminals could use.

- **Digital encryption** – encryption means the encoding of data and information so it cannot be read without the data owner's permission. This presents opportunities for the public to protect their information from cyber criminals, and also for protecting Government data, and making public services and communications with citizens secure. Encryption also can present challenges, such as when the authorities want access to data that indicates criminal activity. We are monitoring the increasing sophistication of encryption techniques, including how the use of biometrics, such as one's fingerprint or DNA, stored digitally, could be used as a type of key.

As well as looking at specific technologies, we need to know how emerging technologies are likely to interact and influence each other. Although constantly evolving, we will develop an overview of the technology challenges and opportunities that lie ahead for crime prevention.

Part of our modern approach to crime prevention will include using our knowledge of emerging technology, and the Home Office's convening power, to bring manufacturers and other experts together to design out crime risks – as we are already doing with the car industry to identify technical solutions to so-called 'keyless' or electronic theft of vehicles.

## 9. Conclusion

Our updated approach to crime prevention is part of wider crime and policing reforms which ensure that those responsible for protecting the public have the operational independence they need to do their job, and are properly held to account. Law enforcement agencies are transforming the capabilities they need to tackle changing crime, particularly that which affects the most vulnerable.

That means at every level - national, regional and local - there are empowered organisations (the National Crime Agency, the College of Policing, Police and Crime Commissioners and police forces) with a clear remit to prevent crime. And they interact on a daily basis with a wide range of partners who also have a strong interest in crime prevention – manufacturers, the financial sector, the alcohol industry, retailers, voluntary sector organisations, local authorities, the other emergency services, including the fire and rescue service, wider Criminal Justice System partners, Health and Wellbeing Boards, and of course members of the public themselves.

The actions outlined in previous chapters represent the start of a fundamental shift in the way all of these partners, including the Home Office, work together to prevent crime. The impact of our new approach will be seen not just in crime rates themselves, but also in public perceptions of crime, the plans of Police and Crime Commissioners, and membership of organisations like Neighbourhood Watch.

But we will also need to continue to identify and respond to new opportunities and threats together. The Home Office will have an

important enabling role, encouraging modern crime prevention to become second nature at national, regional and local levels:

- Where there is a specific issue that requires national leadership, such as violence against women and girls, we will put prevention at the heart of our approach, including working with other Government departments on cross-cutting issues like mental health.
- The Police Transformation Fund will help police forces enhance their capabilities to prevent crime, including cyber crime and child sexual exploitation.
- We will publish analysis and research on emerging crime problems, and share it with those who need that information to protect the public.
- We will use the Home Office's convening power to bring together the relevant partners from across the private and voluntary sectors to find innovative solutions to new challenges.
- And ultimately, only Government can legislate when it is clear that new legislation is necessary to prevent crime.

Other partners will also play a key part in ensuring that we can all respond to the crime prevention challenge ahead:

- The public have an important responsibility to prevent crime, for example by reporting crime to the police and taking simple steps to secure their property. The fall in crime over the past 20 years has been helped by the public making good decisions about which cars to buy, how to protect their homes, and

demanding more from manufacturers in terms of product design.<sup>98</sup> The Neighbourhood Watch and Home Network will give its 4 million members clear, easy-to-follow crime prevention advice which they can then share with others, either in their local area or an online community of interest. Parents - and teachers - also have a vital role to play in building character in young people.<sup>99</sup>

- Voluntary sector organisations can also help in many ways, including engaging with those who are often hardest to reach. Crimestoppers, for example, are giving particularly vulnerable and 'at risk' groups a way of reporting crime anonymously and early, including through online channels. Victim Support run courses designed to help low-level offenders break their own offending behaviour through education and developing empathy with victims.
- The College of Policing and the National Policing Lead will ensure that crime prevention, including the latest evidence on 'what works', is built into police guidance and training.

- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary will inspect police forces' crime prevention capability, recognising those, for example, who make innovative use of data and have excellent relationships with local partners.
- The Association of Police and Crime Commissioners will support Police and Crime Commissioners in commissioning effective crime prevention initiatives, through the Cabinet Office's Commissioning Academy.

To provide a way for all partners involved in preventing crime to highlight good practice and identify emerging problems, we will establish a Modern Crime Prevention Forum, chaired by the Minister for Preventing Abuse, Exploitation and Crime. It will include representatives from law enforcement, Police and Crime Commissioners, academia, industry, retail and the voluntary sector.

1. Laycock, G. (2004) 'The U.K. theft index: an example of government leverage'. In Maxfield M.G. & Clarke R.V. (eds) *Understanding and preventing car theft. Crime prevention studies*. NY: Criminal Justice Press: pp. 25-44.
2. Morgan N. (2014) *The heroin epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s and its effect on crime trends - then and now*. Home Office Research Report 79. London: Home Office. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/332952/horr79.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/332952/horr79.pdf) [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]; Mills, H., Skodbo, S., & Blyth, P. (2013). *Understanding organised crime: Estimating the scale and the social and economic costs*. Home Office Research Report 73. London: Home Office
3. Tilley, N., Farrell, G., and Clarke, R.V. (2015). 'Target suitability and the crime drop'. In *The Criminal Act*,. Palgrave Macmillan UK. pp. 59-76
4. Morgan, N.; Hoare, J., Byron C. (2015), *An evaluation of government/law enforcement interventions aimed at reducing metal theft*. London: Home Office. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/398511/horr80.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/398511/horr80.pdf)
5. Guerette, R.T. & Bowers, K.J. (2009). 'Assessing the Extent of Crime Displacement and Diffusion of Benefits: A Review of Situational Crime Prevention Evaluations'. *Criminology*, 47(4), pp.1331-1368.
6. (ibid.)
7. Clarke, R.V., and J.E. Eck. *Crime analysis for problem solvers*. Washington, DC: Center for Problem Oriented Policing (2005). Accessed at: <http://www.popcenter.org/library/reading/pdfs/60Steps.pdf>
8. Farrell, G., N. Tilley and A. Tseloni. (2014). 'Why the crime drop?', in M. Tonry (ed.) *Why Crime Rates Fall and Why They Don't*, volume 43 of *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (pp.421-490); Morgan, N. (2014). *The Heroin Epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s and Its Effect on Crime Trends – Then and Now*, Home Office Research Report 79. London; Home Office. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/332963/horr79tr.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/332963/horr79tr.pdf)
9. Welsh, B., & Farrington, D. (2008). 'Effects of Closed Circuit Television Surveillance on Crime: A Systematic Review'. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 4(17).
10. Keizer, K., Lindenberg, S., & Steg, L. (2008). The spreading of disorder. *Science*, 322(5908), pp.1681-1685.
11. Farrell, G., Tseloni, A. and Tilley N. (2011) 'The effectiveness of vehicle security devices and their role in the crime drop.' *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 11, no. 1 pp. 21-35; Farrell, G., Tilley N. and Tseloni, A. (2014) 'Why the crime drop?', in M. Tonry (ed.) *Why Crime Rates Fall and Why They Don't*, volume 43 of *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press pp.421-490; Morgan, N., Shaw, O., Feist, A., and Byron, C. (2016). *Reducing criminal opportunity: vehicle security and vehicle crime*. Home Office, London.
12. Tilley, Nick, Graham Farrell, and Ronald V. Clarke. (2015) 'Target suitability and the crime drop.' In *The Criminal Act*, pp. 59-76. Palgrave Macmillan UK
13. Home Office and the Behavioural Insights Team (2014), 'Reducing Mobile Phone Theft and Improving Security'. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/390901/HO\\_Mobile\\_theft\\_paper\\_Dec\\_14\\_WEB.PDF](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/390901/HO_Mobile_theft_paper_Dec_14_WEB.PDF)
14. Behavioural Insights Team (2012). *Applying behavioural insights to reduce fraud, error and debt*. Cabinet Office, London. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/60539/BIT\\_FraudErrorDebt\\_accessible.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/60539/BIT_FraudErrorDebt_accessible.pdf)
15. Guerette, Rob T. & Bowers, Kate J. (2009). 'Assessing the Extent of Crime Displacement and Diffusion of Benefits: A Review of Situational Crime Prevention Evaluations'. *Criminology*, 47(4), pp.1331-1368.
16. Finckenauer, J. O., and Chin, K. L. (2010) 'Sex trafficking: a target for situational crime prevention', in Bullock, K., Clarke, R.V. and Tilley, N., (eds.) *Situational prevention of organised crimes*. Taylor & Francis, pp. 58-80
17. Shukla, R. K., & Bartgis, E. E. (2010). 'Responding to clandestine methamphetamine manufacturing: a case study in situational crime prevention'. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 21(3), pp.338-362.
18. Bright, T. (2015) 'WeProtect Industry Event: London, September 2015', presentation by Travis Bright, Safety Product Manager at Google
19. An online version of the tool has been built by Neighbourhood Watch and is available at <https://actionfraudalert.co.uk/CyberSurvey/>
20. Stromsness, Marilyn M. "Sexually abused women with mental retardation: hidden victims, absent resources." *Women & Therapy* 14, no. 3-4 (1994): 139-152.  
Parrot, Andrea, and Laurie Bechhofer, eds. *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime*. Vol. 157. New York: Wiley, 1991  
DeLara, Ellen W. "Why adolescents don't disclose incidents of bullying and harassment." *Journal of School Violence* 11, no. 4 (2012): 288-305.  
Agatston, Patricia W., Robin Kowalski, and Susan Limber. "Students' perspectives on cyber bullying." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 41, no. 6 (2007): S59-S60.
21. Casey, L. (2015) *Reflections on child sexual exploitation*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/418394/Louise\\_Casey\\_report\\_into\\_CSE\\_template\\_format\\_4\\_.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/418394/Louise_Casey_report_into_CSE_template_format_4_.pdf) [Accessed

- at Mar 16, 2016]; Jay, A. (2014) Independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham 1997-2013. Rotherham: Metropolitan Borough Council. Available at: [http://www.rotherham.gov.uk/downloads/file/1407/independent\\_inquiry\\_cse\\_in\\_rotherham](http://www.rotherham.gov.uk/downloads/file/1407/independent_inquiry_cse_in_rotherham) [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
22. While this action is covered by the Violence against Women and Girls Strategy, our approach covers all victims of these crimes, regardless of gender.
  23. Parker, I. (2015) Victims of domestic abuse: struggling for support? Citizens Advice Bureau. Available online at: [https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/global/migrated\\_documents/corporate/domestic-abuse-victims---struggling-for-support-final.pdf](https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/global/migrated_documents/corporate/domestic-abuse-victims---struggling-for-support-final.pdf) [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
  24. See for example, Straus, Murray A., and Richard J. Gelles. (1986) "Societal change and change in family violence from 1975 to 1985 as revealed by two national surveys." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* pp. 465-479. Available at: <http://gauss.unh.edu/~mas2/VB2%20Societal%20Change%20and%20Change%20in%20fam%20viol.pdf> This paper concludes that the rise in reporting rates for child abuse cases in the US was actually one of the reasons why incidents of abuse fell on an alternative survey measure (which captures actual abuse levels better).
  25. FRA, EU.(2014) "Violence against women: An EU-wide survey." Report for European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report>
  26. See: [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/505961/VAWG\\_Strategy\\_2016-2020.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/505961/VAWG_Strategy_2016-2020.pdf)
  27. See: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/reducing-mobile-phone-theft-and-improving-security>
  28. Home Office and the Behavioural Insights Team (2014), 'Reducing Mobile Phone Theft and Improving Security'. Home Office, London. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/390901/HO\\_Mobile\\_theft\\_paper\\_Dec\\_14\\_WEB.PDF](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/390901/HO_Mobile_theft_paper_Dec_14_WEB.PDF)
  29. British Retail Consortium (2016) Retail Crime Survey 2015. Available at: [http://www.brc.org.uk/downloads/513094\\_2015\\_Crime\\_Survey\\_Report\\_P7.pdf](http://www.brc.org.uk/downloads/513094_2015_Crime_Survey_Report_P7.pdf)
  30. Bowers, K. J., Johnson, S. D., & Hirschfield, A. F. (2004) 'Closing off opportunities for crime: An evaluation of alley-gating.' *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 10(4), 285-308.
  31. Wolfgang, M. E. (1983) 'Delinquency in two birth cohorts', in van Dusen, K.T., Mednick, Sarnoff A. (Eds.) *Prospective studies of crime and delinquency*. Springer Netherlands, pp. 7-16; Moffitt, T. E., (1993), 'Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy', *Psychological Review* 100, pp. 674-701.
  32. Wikström, P. O. H., Oberwittler, D., Treiber, K., & Hardie, B. (2012). *Breaking rules: The social and situational dynamics of young people's urban crime*. OUP Oxford.
  33. Jolliffe, D., and Farrington, D. P. (2004). Empathy and offending: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 9(5), pp.441-476.
  34. Moffitt, T. E., Poulton, R., and Caspi, A. (2013). Lifelong Impact of Early Self-Control. *American Scientist*, 101(5); Levy, L., Santhakumaran, D., Whitecross, R. (2014) *What Works to Reduce Crime?: A Summary of the Evidence*. Justice Analytical Services, Scottish Government.
  35. Wikstrom et al., (forthcoming).
  36. Kimonis, E. R., Cross, B. Howard, A. and Donoghue, K. (2013) 'Maternal care, maltreatment and callous-unemotional traits among urban male juvenile offenders', *Journal of youth and adolescence* 42, no. 2, pp. 165-177; Kitzmann, K. M., Gaylord, N.K., Holt, A.R., and Kenny, E.D. (2003) 'Child witnesses to domestic violence: a meta-analytic review', *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology* 71, no. 2, p 339; Leschied, A., Chiodo, D., Nowicki, E., and Rodger, S. (2008) 'Childhood Predictors of Adult Criminality: A Meta-Analysis Drawn from the Prospective Longitudinal Literature', *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 50, no. 4, pp. 435-467; McCrory, E., De Brito, S.A. and Viding, E. (2010) 'Research review: the neurobiology and genetics of maltreatment and adversity', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 51, no. 10, pp. 1079-1095.
  37. Indeed studies are clear that inherited crime propensity is likely to be modified by environmental effects. See for example: Cloninger, C. R., Sigvardsson, S., Bohman, M., and Von Knorring, A-L.. (1982) 'Predisposition to petty criminality in Swedish adoptees: II. Cross-fostering analysis of gene-environment interaction', *Archives of general psychiatry* 39, no. 11, p 1242; Moffitt, T. E. (2005) 'The new look of behavioral genetics in developmental psychopathology: gene-environment interplay in antisocial behaviors', *Psychological bulletin*, 131(4), p 533. Available at: [http://data.psych.udel.edu/abelcher/Shared%20Documents/4%20Developmental%20Psychopathology%20and%20Risk%20\(24\)/Moffitt%202005.pdf](http://data.psych.udel.edu/abelcher/Shared%20Documents/4%20Developmental%20Psychopathology%20and%20Risk%20(24)/Moffitt%202005.pdf) [Accessed at March 16, 2016]
  38. Caspi, A., and Roberts, B.W. (2001) 'Personality development across the life course: The argument for change and continuity', *Psychological Inquiry* 12, no. 2, pp. 49-66; Konicar, L., Veit, R., Eisenbarth, H., Barth, B., Tonin, P., Strehl, U., and Birbaumer, N. (2015) 'Brain self-regulation in criminal psychopaths', *Scientific reports* 5.
  39. Wikstrom (forthcoming).

40. Dawson, G., Ashman S.B., and Carver L.J., (2000) "The role of early experience in shaping behavioral and brain development and its implications for social policy." *Development and psychopathology* 12, no. 04 pp.695-712.
- Doyle, O., Harmon, C.P., Heckman, J.J. and Tremblay, R.E. (2009) 'Investing in early human development: timing and economic efficiency', *Economics & Human Biology* 7, no. 1, pp. 1-6.
41. On development of self-control in adults see: Muraven, M. (2010) 'Building self-control strength: Practicing self-control leads to improved self-control performance', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), pp. 465-468. On development of empathy in adults see for example: Riess, H., Kelley, J. M., Bailey, R. W., Dunn, E. J., and Phillips, M. (2012) 'Empathy training for resident physicians: a randomized controlled trial of a neuroscience-informed curriculum', *Journal of general internal medicine*, 27(10), pp. 1280-1286.
42. Farrington, D. P., and Welsh, B.C. (2008) *Saving children from a life of crime: Early risk factors and effective interventions*. Oxford University Press.
43. Studies have shown that the degree of citizenship, as expressed by inclusivity and level of trust in societal institutions, is a predictor of violence. For example: Lederman, D., Loayza, N. and Menendez, A.M. (2002) 'Violent Crime: Does Social Capital Matter?', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 50, no. 3, pp. 509-539. Also: Roth, R. (2012) *American homicide*. Harvard University Press
44. See: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/troubled-families-progress-information-by-december-2014-and-families-turned-around-by-may-2015>
45. Cooper, C., Eslinger, D., and Stolley, P. (2006) 'Hospital-based violence intervention programs work', *Journal of Trauma-Injury Infection & Critical Care* 61(3), pp. 534-540; Zun, L., Downey, L. and Rosen, J. (2006) 'The effectiveness of an ED-based violence prevention program' *American Journal of Emergency Medicine* 24 no.1, pp.8-13.
46. See: for proven re-offending, levels are shown in Table 1A, proven reoffending stats Mar 2014, the rate has increased slightly but the cohort sizes have fallen markedly so overall numbers have also dropped. For young first time entrants see: youth FTEs on page 19 of *Criminal Justice Stats* Sept 2015. For youths in custody, see prison population data
47. A recent MOJ review (see: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/transforming-rehabilitation-a-summary-of-evidence-on-reducing-reoffending>) concluded that: "There is some promising evidence that approaches focusing on family/intimate relationships may contribute to reducing reoffending among adults. This evidence is mainly in relation to family visits and home leave for prisoners" (p24), among adults. This evidence is mainly in relation to family visits and home leave for prisoners" (p24),
48. Muraven, M. (2010), 'Building self-control strength: Practicing self-control leads to improved self-control performance', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), pp. 465-468; Riess, H., Kelley, J. M., Bailey, R. W., Dunn, E. J., & Phillips, M. (2012) 'Empathy training for resident physicians: a randomized controlled trial of a neuroscience-informed curriculum', *Journal of general internal medicine*, 27(10), pp. 1280-1286.
49. Braga, A., Papachristos, A. V. and Hureau, D. M. (2012) "The Effects of Hot Spots Policing on Crime: An Updated Systematic Review and Meta-analysis" in *Justice Quarterly* 31:4.
50. Taylor, B., Koper, C. and Woods, D. (2011) "A randomized controlled trial of different policing strategies at hot spots of violent crime" in *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 7 (2): pp.149-181.
- Taylor, B., Koper, C. and Woods, D. (2011) 'A randomized controlled trial of different policing strategies at hot spots of violent crime', in *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 7 (2): pp. 149-181.
51. Shapland, J., Atkinson, A., Atkinson, H., Dignan, J., Edwards, L., Hibbert, J., Howes, M., Johnstone, J., Robinson, G. & Sorsby, A. (2008). Does restorative justice affect reconviction? The fourth report from the evaluation of three schemes. Ministry of Justice Research Series (Vol. 10). London: Ministry of Justice.
52. Barbarino, A., and Mastrobuoni, G. (2014) "The Incapacitation Effect of Incarceration: Evidence from Several Italian Collective Pardons" *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* Vol. 6 No.1 pp. 1-37.
53. Johnson, R., and Raphael, S. (2012). "How Much Crime Reduction Does the Marginal Prisoner Buy?" in *Journal of Law and Economics*, 55(2), pp.275-310.
54. Ministry of Justice (2013) *Transforming Rehabilitation: a summary of evidence on reducing reoffending*. London: Ministry of Justice.
55. Durlauf, S. N., and Nagin, D. S. (2010) "The deterrent effect of imprisonment" in *Controlling crime: Strategies and Tradeoffs* pp. 43-94. University of Chicago Press.
56. Florence, C., Shepherd, J., Brennan, I. and Simon, T. (2011) 'Effectiveness of anonymised information sharing and use in health service, police, and local government partnership for preventing violence related injury: experimental study and time series analysis', *British Medical Journal* 342 d3313. Available at <http://www.bmj.com/content/bmj/342/bmj.d3313.full.pdf>
57. See: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/sharing-information-to-tackle-violent-crime-audit-of-progress>
58. Ministry of Justice (2016) *Proven Re-offending Statistics Quarterly Bulletin*, April 2013 to March 2014, England and Wales Ministry of Justice, London. Available at <https://www.gov.uk/>

- [government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/495758/proven-reoffending-2014q1.pdf](http://www.nta.nhs.uk/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/495758/proven-reoffending-2014q1.pdf) [Accessed at March 16, 2016]
59. Beckett, H. and Warrington, C. (2015) Making Justice Work: Experiences of criminal justice for children and young people affected by sexual exploitation as victims and witnesses. University of Bedfordshire. Available at: [https://www.beds.ac.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0011/461639/MakingJusticeWorkFullReport.pdf](https://www.beds.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/461639/MakingJusticeWorkFullReport.pdf)
  60. See for example: Jacobs, B. A., and Wright, R. (1999) 'Stick-up, street culture and offender motivation', *Criminology*, 37(1), pp. 149-174; Kristie, R. (2012) 'Understanding decisions to burglarise from the offender's perspective', UNC Charlotte.
  61. Mills, H., Skodbo, S., & Blyth, P. (2013). Understanding organised crime: Estimating the scale and the social and economic costs. Home Office Research Report 73. London: Home Office.
  62. National Crime Agency (2016) Intelligence Assessment: Pathways into Serious and Organised Crime. London, NCA
  63. HM Treasury and Home Office (2015) UK National Risk Assessment of Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing', HM Government.
  64. (ibid.)
  65. Levesley, T., Braun, G., Wilkinson., M. and Powell, C. (2004). Emerging Methods of Car Theft: Theft of Keys, Report No. 239, Home Office, London.
  66. Morgan, N., Hoare, J., Byron C. (2015), An evaluation of government/law enforcement interventions aimed at reducing metal theft. London: Home Office. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/398511/horr80.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/398511/horr80.pdf) [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]; Home Office and the Behavioural Insights Team (2014) 'Reducing Mobile Phone Theft and Improving Security'. London: Home Office. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/390901/HO\\_Mobile\\_theft\\_paper\\_Dec\\_14\\_WEB.PDF](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/390901/HO_Mobile_theft_paper_Dec_14_WEB.PDF) [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
  67. See: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/chancellors-speech-to-gchq-on-cyber-security>
  68. Goldstein, P. J., (1985) 'The drugs/violence nexus: a tripartite conceptual framework', *Journal of Drug Issues*, Vol. 15, pp. 493–506.
  69. Public Health England (2015) Adult substance treatment activity in England 2014-15 Available at: <http://www.nta.nhs.uk/statistics.aspx>
  70. Home Office. (2015). Drug Misuse: Findings from the 2014 to 2015 Crime Survey for England and Wales. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/drug-misuse-findings-from-the-2014-to-2015-csew> [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
  71. Hay, G., Santos, A.R., and Worsley, J. (2014). Estimates of the Prevalence of Opiate Use and/or Crack Cocaine Use, 2011/12: Sweep 8 report Available at: <http://www.nta.nhs.uk/uploads/estimates-of-the-prevalence-of-opiate-use-and-or-crack-cocaine-use-2011-12.pdf> [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
  72. Mills, H., Skodbo, S. and Blyth, P. (2013). Understanding organised crime: estimating the scale and the social and economic costs. Home Office Research Report 73. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/246390/horr73.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/246390/horr73.pdf) [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
  73. (ibid.)
  74. Morgan N. (2014) The heroin epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s and its effect on crime trends - then and now. Home Office Research Report 79. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/332952/horr79.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/332952/horr79.pdf)
  75. National Treatment Agency (2012) Estimating the crime reduction benefits of drug treatment and recovery. National Treatment Agency. Available at: <http://www.nta.nhs.uk/uploads/vfm2012.pdf> [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]; and National Treatment Agency (2012) The impact of drug treatment on reconviction. National Treatment Agency. Available at: <http://www.nta.nhs.uk/uploads/theimpactoftreatmentonreconviction.pdf> [Accessed at Mar 16, 2016]
  76. Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (2013) Recovery from drug and alcohol dependence: an overview of the evidence (2012). Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/acmd-recovery-from-drug-and-alcohol-dependence-an-overview-of-the-evidence-2012> [Accessed: 16/03/16]; Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (2013a) What recovery outcomes does the evidence tell us we can expect? Second report of the Recovery Committee. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/acmd-second-report-of-the-recovery-committee-november-2013> [Accessed: 16/03/16]; and European Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction (2012) Social reintegration and employment: evidence and interventions for drug users in treatment. Available from: <http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/insights/social-reintegration> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
  77. European Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction (2012) New heroin-assisted treatment: Recent evidence and current practices of supervised injectable heroin treatment in Europe and beyond. Available from: [http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/attachements.cfm/att\\_154996\\_EN\\_Heroin%20Insight.pdf](http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/attachements.cfm/att_154996_EN_Heroin%20Insight.pdf) [Accessed: 16/03/16]
  78. Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (2015) Prevention of Drug and Alcohol Dependence. Available. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prevention-of-drug-and-alcohol-dependence> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
  79. (ibid.)



80. National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (2007) Drug Misuse in over 16s: Psychosocial interventions. National Clinical Practice Guideline Number 51 Available from: <http://www.nice.org.uk/guidance/cg51> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
81. Mazerolle, L., Soole, D. and Rombouts, S. (2007) Street-level drug law enforcement: A meta-analytical review. The Campbell Collaboration 2007:2. Available from: <http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/download/123/&rct=j&frm=1&q=&esrc=s&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEWjmfJlOjKAhUFCBoKHUOND5UQFggUMAA&usg=AFQjCNEBX-K5GDqHoRNVMIldW29rRSA0TNw> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
82. McSweeney, T., Turnbull, P. J. and Hough, M. (2008) Tackling Drug Markets and Distribution Networks in the UK: A review of the recent literature. London: Institute for Criminal Policy Research
83. Caulkins J.P. (2007) The need for dynamic drug policy. *Addiction* 102 (1), pp. 4-7.
84. This has fluctuated between 48% and 59% since 2004/05, and was 47% in 2014/15.
85. Office for National Statistics (2016) Focus on Violent Crime and Sexual Offences, year ending March 2015. Available from: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/crime-stats/crime-statistics/focus-on-violent-crime-and-sexual-offences--2014-to-2015/index.html> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
86. HM Revenue & Customs (2013) Alcohol Factsheet October 2013. Available from: <https://www.uktradeinfo.com/Statistics/Pages/TaxAndDutyBulletins.aspx> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
87. To coincide with the publication of the Government's Alcohol Strategy in 2012, the Home Office estimated that alcohol-related crime costs society around £11.4bn per year, based on 2010 prices and 2010/11 crime levels. This was calculated using a methodology based on unit costs associated with crime types.
88. Dingwall, G. (2006) *Alcohol and Crime*. Devon: Willan Publishing.
89. Ministry of Justice (2015) Criminal justice system statistics quarterly: March 2015. Available from: <http://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/criminal-justice-system-statistics-quarterly-march-2015> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
90. Office for National Statistics (2015) Crime in England and Wales, Year ending March 2015. Available from: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/crime-stats/crime-statistics/year-ending-march-2015/index.html> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
91. Babor, T., Caetano, R., Casswell, S., Edwards, G., Giesbrecht, N., Graham, K., Grube, J., Gruenewald, P., Hill, L., Holder, H., Homel, R., Österberg, E., Rehm, J., Room, R. and Rossow, I. (2010) *Alcohol : No ordinary commodity: Research and public policy*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press; World Health Organisation (2014) *Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health*. Available at: <http://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/112736> [Accessed Mar 16, 2016]; National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (2010) *Alcohol-use disorders: preventing harmful drinking*. Available at: <http://www.nice.org.uk/guidance/PH24> [Accessed Mar 16, 2016]; Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (2015) *Prevention of Drug and Alcohol Dependence*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prevention-of-drug-and-alcohol-dependence> [Accessed Mar 16, 2016]
92. The Cardiff model uses anonymised information obtained from A&E patients about the precise location of violence, weapon use, assailants and day/time of violence. The model enhances the effectiveness of targeted policing and local authority effort, and reduces serious violence recorded by the police and violence-related hospital admissions.
93. Pepper, M. and Dawson, P. (2016) *Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement: A process review of the proof of concept pilot*. MOPAC Evidence and Insight Unit. Available from: [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/aamr\\_final.pdf](https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/aamr_final.pdf) [Accessed: 16/03/16]
94. See: <http://www-01.ibm.com/software/data/bigdata/what-is-big-data.html> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
95. McCue, C. (2014) *Data mining and predictive analysis: Intelligence gathering and crime analysis*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
96. Wilson, D. B., Weisbud, D. and McClure, D. (2011) Use of DNA testing in police investigative work for increasing offender identification, arrest, conviction and case clearance. *Campbell Systematic Reviews* 2011:7. Available at <http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/project/126/> [Accessed: 16/03/16]
97. Owens, C., Mann, D. and McKenna, R. (2014) *The Essex Body Worn Video Trial: The impact of Body Worn Video on criminal justice outcomes of domestic abuse incidents*. Available from: [http://whatworks.college.police.uk/Research/Documents/BWV\\_Report.pdf](http://whatworks.college.police.uk/Research/Documents/BWV_Report.pdf) [Accessed: 16/03/16]
98. Farrell, G., Tilley, N. and Tseloni, A. (2014) 'Why the crime drop?'. In 'Why Crime Rates Fall and Why They Don't', volume 43 of *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, M. Tonry (ed.), (pp.421-490). Chicago: University of Chicago Press
99. Wikstrom et. al., (forthcoming)

## **OGL**

### **© Crown copyright 2016**

You may re-use this information (not including logos) free of charge in any format or medium, under the terms of the Open Government Licence. To view this licence, visit [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/) or write to the Information Policy Team, The National Archives, Kew, London TW9 4DU, or email: [psi@nationalarchives.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:psi@nationalarchives.gsi.gov.uk). Any enquiries regarding this publication should be sent to us at [public.enquiries@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:public.enquiries@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk). This publication is available for download at [www.official-documents.gov.uk](http://www.official-documents.gov.uk).

ISBN: 978-1-78655-106-1

**DESIGN02**

This publication was produced by DESIGN102.  
Contact us at: [design102@justice.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:design102@justice.gsi.gov.uk)